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Several TRACTS  
AGAINST  
POPERY, &c.

BY  
MICHAEL GEDDES, LL.D.



\*\*\*\*\*

SEVERAL TRACTS

AGAINST

POPERY, &c.

BY

MICHAEL GORDON, LL.D.

\*\*\*\*\*



SEVERAL  
TRACTS  
AGAINST  
POPERY:

Together with  
The LIFE of  
*Don Alvaro de Luna.*

---

WRITTEN BY  
MICHAEL GEDDES, LL.D.  
And Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum.*

---

*Quid Romæ faciam? mentiri nescio —*  
Juven. Satyr. III.

---

L O N D O N,  
Printed by E. J. for BERNARD LINTOTT  
at the *Cross-Keys* between the two *Temple-gates*  
in *Fleet-street.* 1715.

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REVEREND  
TRIALS  
AGAINST  
POPE

with  
the LIFE of  
Don Alvaro de Luna.

WRITTEN BY  
JOHN G. GEDDES, LL.D.  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.  
—  
—  
—

LONDON:  
Printed by J. G. GEDDES, LL.D.  
at the University Press, 1841.



THE  
PUBLISHER  
TO THE  
READER.



THE ensuing TRACTS are the *Remains* of the late Learned and Judicious Dr. GEDDES, whose former Works of this sort met with so favourable a Reception in the World, as has encourag'd the Publishing of these; which, 'tis hop'd, may in their turn be no less serviceable in making fur-

ther Discoveries of the *Cheats* and *Abuses* of the *Roman Church*.

1. That Tract call'd *The Grand Forgery display'd*, is a most useful Disquisition into and a clear Detection of those *Arts*, by which the *Roman Pontif* and his *Bishops* advanc'd the *Papal See* to such *Pre-eminence*, and exalted themselves to so enormous a height, as to *Lord* it over *God's Heritage*, and to shed the *Blood* of all those *Saints* and *Prophets* who would not bow the *Knee* to *Baal*.

2. *The Essay on the Roman Pontificate* is of the like nature, tracing out those *Usurpations* and unjust *Claims* of *Precedency* to their *Source*, shewing the *Spring* from whence they arose, and the *Basis* on which they stand: *Rome Papal* succeeding to *Rome Pagan* and her *Pontifex Maximus* to *them*, as our *Author* very well observes and substantially proves!

3. *The*



3. *The Legend of the House of Loretto*, is one of their most ridiculous *Fables*, invented to serve their Ends, to uphold Superstition, to amuse blind and ignorant People, and to cheat them of their Substance by drawing rich Offerings to that *Holy House*, as they call it, which are there devoted to the Service of their Priests, whose *Legerdemain* far exceeds the *Hocus Pocus* of all other Impostors whatsoever.

4. Another of these Tracts, call'd *A View of Papal Indulgences*, carries in it a very melancholy Account of the miserable Slavery to which the Laity of the Church of Rome are subject, who are annually oblig'd to deal for this unprofitable Merchandise \*, and

A 4

are

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\* A late Proof of this Trade thus carr'd on is to be met with in the Account of Captain *Woods Rogers's* Cruising Voyage to the *South Sea*, &c. where speaking of a Ship call'd the *Marquis* which they took from the *Spaniards*, he says; *We found in the Marquis near Five hundred Bales of the Pope's Bulls,*

are trick'd out of their Money (not to say their Salvation) by such unchristian and burthensome Impositions. How little available this Traffick is to promote those Ends it pretends to serve, the very Thing it self and the Manner of its Management sufficiently declare. What was said of old of the Jewish Priests and Sacrifices may be very aptly apply'd here. These things can never make the Comers thereunto perfect; nor can those Indulgences take away Sin, or purge the Conscience from dead Works.

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*Bulls, Sixteen Reams in a Bale. This took up abundance of room in the Ship: We throw'd most of them overboard, to make room for better Goods, except what we us'd to burn the Pitch of our Ships when we careen'd them. These Bulls are imposed upon the People, and sold here by the Clergy from Three Ryals to Fifty Pieces of Eight a-piece, according to the Ability of the Purchasers. Once in two Years they are rated, and all the People oblig'd to buy them against Lent: They cannot be read, the Print looking worse than any of our old Ballads; yet the Vulgar are made to believe it's a mortal Sin to eat Flesh in Lent, without being Licens'd by one of these Bulls, the Negro Slaves not excepted. This is one of the greatest Branches of Income the King of Spain has in this Country, being a free Gift from the Pope to him, as the Spaniards and Natives told us. Page 227, 228.*

But

But the Business is, the Laity must be kept dependent upon their Guides, and must be oblig'd to believe, that the pretended Vicar of Christ has equally with Christ himself *all Power given him in Heaven and Earth*, and that *He opens and no Man shuts, and shuts and no Man opens.* However doubtful it may be, whether these miserable People attain that Eternal Inheritance which is offer'd them by those Indulgences, yet this is very certain, that the Pope gains his own Ends and enriches himself with their Gold and Silver, making them believe that *the Gift of God may be purchased with Money*, and obliging them *to give him their labour for that which does not profit, and their strength for that which is not bread.*

5. *The Account of a Solemn Pontifical Mass*, is a Discovery of a wonderful Scene of *Pageantry*, where Pomp and Superstition are interwoven with each other to disguise the Purity of Divine  
Wor-



Worship, and the easie Institution of the Commemoration of Christ's Love to Mankind is miserably clogg'd with Rites of Human Invention. So that the Law of *Moses*, so remarkable for its number of Ceremonies, and so un-easie by reason of the heavy Yoke it put upon the Necks of its Votaries, is now succeeded by another Law of Carnal Ordinances much more burthensome, which is wholly destitute of the same Authority to support it, and not in the least subservient to the same or any other good End or Purpose. On this Occasion the *Bishop of Rome* and his *Ecclesiasticks* endeavour to *magnifie their Office*, and set themselves out in Pomp and State, in order to be admir'd by their superstitious Beholders, and to make them *think more highly of them than they ought to think*, as if Divine Institutions deriv'd their greatest Value from them.

'Tis hop'd that the fore-mention'd Treatises may not be unseasonably



ably offer'd to the Publick, at a time when all Helps are needful to make some Men sensible of the Usurpations of the *Roman Church*, and the Calamities of those Congregations that are within her Dominions. It is not long since the fears of Popery were represented as the Notions of fanciful Men, or as the Engines of designing Politicians; and whoever, out of a good Conscience, preach'd against its Corruptions, or about the Dangers of its Return hither, was very much discountenanc'd, and branded with the name of a factious and seditious Incendiary. And tho' the Times, God be thank'd, are much chang'd for the better, and the Advocates for Popery dare not appear so bare-fac'd, yet it is to be fear'd that the same Men have still the same Dispositions, and that their Creatures are still possess'd with the same Delusions in its favour, which, without being rectify'd, may some time or other occasion the Ruin of our Glorious Church

Church, unless prevented by the gracious Interposition of Divine Providence. To obviate these false Notions, it will not be amiss to represent in a few general Words how *dangerous* and *terrible* a Dispensation Popery is, by saying somewhat of its great Power, and the indefatigableness of its Votaries to propagate and enlarge it, and by laying before the Reader a small Scetch of its *Inquisition* from the Author's own Experience.

It will be altogether needless to look back to its Original, and to trace out the gradual Advances by which Rome Papal, like Rome Heathen, rose to such an extravagant height of Power : We will only consider it as it is now establish'd in most Parts of the Christian World, and briefly hint what Pains are taken to make it overspread the face of the whole Earth. It will be Time mis-spent to refer the Reader either to History or Geography to find out the Extent of Papal Jurisdiction,

tion, or to discover what mighty Potentates are engag'd in its Cause, since every Day's Conversation will abundantly furnish him with too much Knowledge of that kind. Amongst these Potentates there is a neighbouring Monarch, so full of Zeal for the Papal Cause, that he spares not People of his own Perswasion, if they in any measure fall short of the utmost Bigottry of that Religion, witness the great Prosecution against Father *Quesnel* and his Favourers, and his \* Declaration in 1685 lately reviv'd by an Arrest of the Parliament of *Bordeaux* against the New Converts, on the Account of Monsieur *Jourgniac*, in order to persecute 'em ev'n after Death, by confiscating their Estates and ruining their Posterity if they are not bury'd according to the

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\* *Vid.* The French King's Declaration dated the 11th of December 1685, and Registred the 17th of the same Month. *Vid.* The Arrest of the Parliament of *Bordeaux* against Monsieur *Jourgniac* in the Abstract of the Registers of Parliament December 12th, 1714.



Superstitions of *Rome*. And don't we see this furious Zealot in a flourishing Condition again, keeping formidable Armies a-foot to execute his Designs, and sending abroad great Fleets to bring the Riches of all the known Parts of the World into his Coffers? And is not this Matter of Grief and Lamentation to all who truly love the Liberty of Mankind and the Purity of the Gospel? This single Consideration throws frightful Apprehensions into the Minds of all sincere Protestants. But if beyond this we reflect that several other mighty Powers are equally zealous for *Rome's* Religion, and equally attach'd to its Interest, we can't possibly avoid thinking that our Religion is in no small Peril: And should these Powers unite to re-settle Popery in those Countries from whence it was banish'd (which is what were apprehensive of not long ago) we may too easily guess the dire Consequences, considering the present great Divisions among Protestants.

It

It is well known that the great progress of Popery has been chiefly owing to Force; and if that has prov'd so serviceable hitherto, we may be sure it will never fail to be us'd when a favourable Opportunity presents it self. But to insist on this no longer, let us now consider what Endeavours are made use of by its Votaries to propagate and enlarge it. The Emissaries of *Rome* are in all Parts of the World, and work without intermission to bring Men to an Obedience to their Church; but their Endeavours of that kind are most constant and most indefatigable in those Countries which have shook off that heavy Yoke from their Necks. And I think I may justly affirm, that there is not a Part of the World in which they have more zealously labour'd than in *England*. For to pass by all their hellish Plots of several sorts at several times, have they not always a Set of Priests and Jesuits lurking amongst us, who lay out themselves in making

Pro-

Profelytes, in sowing Seditions and creating Differences amongst us, in spreading false Reports of our Governors, in traducing the best Men of the Nation, in betraying the Secrets of State to foreign Powers, in abusing our best Friends, and exalting our worst Enemies? These and many other the like Devices they daily make use of to bring us under Bondage to *St. Peter's* pretended Successor; and there is nothing so mean or so scandalous to which they will not stoop either to carry on his Encroachments, or to ruin his Opposers. And if after all this we of this Nation can fancy our selves so secure as to apprehend no Danger from that quarter, our Condition is so much the worse. Insensibility in such Circumstances is a very bad Symptom, and may accelerate our Ruin. Whilst we are folding our Arms to Sleep, and are crying *Peace, Peace*, the Mischiefs, which is always aim'd at us, may come upon us unawares, and  
seize



seize us at a time when there will be no possibility of making an Escape.

The late worthy Author of these Papers very well knew the Justness of those Fears which Protestants entertain of Popery: For as he had liv'd long in a Popish Country, so he had been a curious Enquirer into that Religion, and a judicious Observer of all its Maxims and Politicks. He had experienc'd in his own Person, that no Protestant shall be ever suffer'd to enjoy the Exercise of his Religion when it is in the Power of the Papists to take it from him.

A clear Instance of this appear'd in the Case of the *English* Factory at *Lisbon*, where he serv'd as Chaplain for ten Years, from 1678 to 1688. In the Year 1686 he was cited with the Consul of the Merchants to come before the *Inquisition*. They went through several large Rooms, which were still lock'd behind them as they pass'd on. The Consul was taken in

first, and examin'd, but was not suffer'd to speak to the Chaplain when he came out again. The Chaplain was then sent for to make his Appearance before those Judges, who receiv'd him at first with great Affectation of Civility and Courtesy, and desir'd him to sit down and be Cover'd before they proceeded to Examine him. After this piece of Ceremony was over, they sternly demanded of him, how he dar'd to Preach, or exercise his Function in that City? He answer'd, That he enjoy'd that Liberty by virtue of an Article between the two Crowns of *England* and *Portugal*; That it was a thing which had never been call'd in question; That he had been there Eight Years, and during that time had serv'd the *English* Factory in the capacity of Chaplain, as many others had done before him. They reply'd, That it was a thing altogether unknown to them, and what they had never heard of before; and if they had known it, they would never have suffer'd it.

This



This Declaration of theirs was a most notorious Falshood, and was only a cloak to cover the true Reasons of carrying on such unjust Proceedings. The truth is, they had Encouragment so to do from this side of the Water ; and had not the happy *Revolution* succeeded, the whole *Protestant Church* might have faln under the same unlucky Fate.

After they had threaten'd him, and strictly forbidden him to minister any more to his Congregation, he was dismiss'd. \* Whereupon a *Letter* of Complaint was written to the Bishop of *London*, subscrib'd by Mr. Maynard the Consul, and other Merchants of the Factory ; a *Duplicate* of the same *Letter* was afterwards sign'd by every Member of the Factory ; and one was written by the Consul himself to the same Right Reverend Father ; the Copies whereof are exhibited to the Publick View at the latter end of the *Appendix*. But before those *Letters*

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\* Vid. *Append. ad fin.* We could not find either the Original or a Copy of Dr. Geddes's Letter which the Consul mentions.

reach'd *England*, his Lordship was Suspended, and all hopes of Redress were remov'd. They were wholly debarr'd the Exercise of their Religion till the arrival of Mr. *Scarborough* the *English* Envoy, under whose Character as a Publick Minister they were oblig'd to skreen themselves, altho' they had a Right to the Exercise of their Profession by the Treaty between the two Nations, and by an expresse Clause inserted in the Patent of every *English* Consul residing at *Lisbon*, and Confirm'd and Ratify'd by the King of *Portugal* himself. Under this State of Affairs he thought it advisable to return to *England*, which he did in *May* 1688, bringing along with him that just Aversion and Abhorrence of the *Popish* Religion, which all, who love the Purity of Christianity, ought to entertain of so gross a Depravation of it.

During his residence at *Lisbon* he was present at an *Auto de Fé*, or a Jail-Delivery of the Prisoners of the *Inquisition*,

*sition*, where he saw with Horror and Detestation Men cruelly burnt, or rather roasted alive, because they would not abjure that which they in their Consciences believ'd to be Truth. One of them continued alive in the Flames about two Hours after he gave over speaking, as he could perceive by the motion and lifting up of his Hands. As long as they were able to speak, they incessantly cry'd out, *Mercy, Mercy, for the Love of God*; but no Mercy was to be obtain'd from their merciless Persecutors, who sport themselves with burning off their Lips and Noses with lighted Furzes before the Fire is kindled, and behold their severest Agonies in the midst of the Flames with inexpressible Delight. To such degrees of hellish Cruelty can this Antichristian Religion excite Men! The same People are otherwise Good-natur'd enough, and cannot but look upon the Sufferings of common Malefactors with great Pity and Compassion; but in the case of those whom they call

*Hereticks*, they seem to be devoid of all Humanity, and are possess'd with such an infernal Fury as to assist at the Executions of the *Inquisition* with the utmost height of Satisfaction in their Countenances, and with such Acclamations, Exulting and Triumph as cannot be imagin'd by those who have not seen them.

It is remarkable, that before the time of Execution, these poor Wretches are, by hard Usage and Torments endur'd in Prison, reduc'd to such Weakness and Decrepidness as to be scarce able to walk, and their Eyes are so much strain'd with constant Darkness, that they cannot bear the Light. This made our Author often say, when he reflected upon those miserable Creatures; *That they had an Aspect so different from all other People, and their Looks were so pale and ghastly, that they seem'd rather to be such Infernal Shades as the Poets of old feign'd, than the Inhabitants of this Upper World and the Children of*  
Men



*Men in the Land of the Living.*  
 And yet all these things put together  
 move not the least Commiseration.  
 And no wonder, since the Genius of  
 the Popish Religion is diametrically  
 opposite to the Spirit of Christianity.  
 The Christian Religion enjoins its Vo-  
 taries to Love one another, to be  
 Pitiful and Tender-hearted, to be full  
 of Compassion, Kindness, Gentleness,  
 Long-suffering, to put on Bowels of  
 Mercies, forbearing one another, and  
 forgiving one another. But the Papal  
 Religion excites its Followers to ex-  
 treme Hatred and Hard-heartedness, to  
 outrageous Fury, to unrelenting Ma-  
 lice, to barbarous Cruelty, and to all  
 the Acts of Inhumanity and Savageness,  
 as is evident from the foregoing In-  
 stance, as well as from all the Rela-  
 tions and Histories of their *Inquisition*:  
 Insomuch that no one can live in  
 quiet or safety amongst them, who  
 will not bring his Conscience to the  
 Pope's Standard, and let him have  
 dominion over his Faith. And whe-

ther any thing is more to be dreaded by *Englishmen* and *Protestants*, than to have such a Lord to bear rule over them, I leave every one of common Sense, except *bigotted Papists*, to determine.

The last Work of the Author's in this Collection, Intituled, *The Life of Don Alvaro de Luna*, is of a different nature from the foregoing Pieces, being not a *Religious* but a *Political* Treatise. It contains an Account of a Prime Minister of State in the Kingdom of *Castile*, who from a base Birth and slender Fortune rose to the greatest Eminence in the Government, and maintain'd himself in that Post for a long tract of Time, against all the Attempts of his Rivals, all the Reasons of State, and all the just Remonstrances of his Fellow-Subjects. The Ways and Means he made use of to aggrandize, enrich and support himself, his Political Maxims and Practices, his Government of his Prince, and his  
Oppres-

Oppression of the People, all the Attacks of his Adversaries to remove him, their Combinations and Confederacies, their Complaints of Grievances, and their repeated Representations of his Male-administration, make up the bulk of this remarkable Piece of History. Towards the Conclusion of it, we see a Cloud gathering over his Head, which seems to threaten his Destruction ; but this would have broke without doing him any hurt, if the *Avarice* of his Prince had not been stronger than the *Efforts* of his Opposers. His vast Treasure, which was the weapon he chiefly fought with, and the thing he chiefly rely'd on, sharpen'd the King his Master's Appetite, and brought him to that Untimely End which we find related in the latter part of this History. Our Author tells us, he chose to collect this Account, and to rescue this *Favourite* so eminent in his kind from Obscurity, that it might serve for an Admonition to those that stand

in

in high Places, *to take care lest they fall.*

Before I dismiss this head, it will not be improper to inform the *Reader*, that the *Publisher* has laid out more Pains upon this Treatise in Altering, Correcting and Amending it, than upon any of the preceding ones. He has not at all chang'd the *Matter*, but has only meddled with the *Stile*, and has endeavour'd, as far as was consistent with the Duty of a *Publisher*, to take off that Roughness and Unevenness which is visible in every Page of the other Tracts. In this Case he looks upon himself to be in some measure in the Condition of an Artificer, who is to brighten and polish some valuable Jewel, without any considerable Diminution of its Substance: And if he has been so fortunate as to render this Life as *pleasant*, or even but as *easy* as it is *instructive*, he will think his Time and Labour very well bestow'd.

Our



Our *Author* had begun to write the *Life of Veronica of Milan*, a Female Visionary, and design'd to have made it a part of this Volume, if he could have brought it into a like compass with the foregoing Treatises ; but before he had made any great Progress in that Piece, it seem'd good to the Wise Disposer of all Things to take him to himself. What he began is now finish'd by the Ingenious Mr. *Ozell*, who has translated the whole Life from the Original *Portuguese* written by *John Freiro* an *Austin* Hermit and Doctor of the Chair in the University of *Conimbra*, and publish'd by him at *Lisbon* with several pompous Licenses and Recommendations in the Year 1671. This, as Dr. *Geddes* observes, is one of the greatest Ecclesiastical Romances that ever *Rome* vented to support its Credit, and was sent into the World on purpose to blast the *Reformation*, and to support the corrupt Usages and Doctrines of *Papacy* against

against the Reformers, by pretended  
 Visions and Revelations from Heaven.  
 It is to be hop'd that this *Curiosity* in  
 its kind will in some short time be com-  
 municated to the Publick, to shew how  
 unfaithful Historians and audacious  
 Blasphemers the *Papists* are, and that  
 the Sacred Oracles of God himself  
 cannot escape their Corruptions and  
 Sophistications, when they can any  
 way wrest them to serve the Pur-  
 poses of their erroneous *Mother-  
 Church*.





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THE  
Grand FORGERY  
DISPLAY'D,

Whereby the  
ROMAN SEE

WAS  
Exalted and Enrich'd.

---

By MICHAEL GEDDES, LL. D.  
And Chancellor of the Church of SARUM.

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*Unde nefas tantum Latiis Pastoribus? —*  
Juven. Satyr. II.



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The Grand  
**FORGERY**  
 DISPLAY'D.

WHEREBY

The *Roman* SEE was Exalted and  
 Enriched.



Hether the direful Story, which  
 was, I think, first reported by the  
 Heathens, be true, or not, of  
*Constantine's* the Great having  
 murthered his Wife, his Son,  
 and his Nephew; and of that Emperor's  
 having turned Christian, upon his being pro-  
 mised in that Religion an Expiation of those  
 great and unnatural Crimes, after the Hea-  
 then Priests had told him it was not to be  
 had among them, but by Means of a most  
 inhumane Method: A Story was, after some

## 2      *The Grand Forgery display'd.*

Ages, built upon that by the Bishops of *Rome*, or their Agents, that is so palpably false, that Cardinal *Pool*, *Baronius*, and some other learned Men continuing still to maintain it, is alone sufficient to demonstrate that they make no Conscience at all of sacrificing Truth to the Service of the Papal Interest; which Story, being, Legend like, in the Acts called Pope *Silvester's*, a tedious, blundering, and ill told Tale; I shall here give the Reader the Substance of it, as I find it in a Letter of Pope *Adrian's*, which was writ above Four Hundred Years after *Constantine's* Death. The Tale is this,

*Constantine* the Great, after he had been a Christian for divers Years, so that he wanted nothing, but to be baptized, to have been entirely of that Religion, did in the Year 324, of a sudden, raise so violent a Persecution against the Christians, that *Silvester*, Bishop of *Rome*, with his Clergy were chased by the Fury of the Persecution into the subterraneous Caverns of the Mountain *Soracte*: And so abandoned was that Emperor to Wickedness, that during the Time of that Persecution, his Wife *Fausta*, who was a Woman of an unblameable Life, and his Son *Crispus*, who was a virtuous and a most hopeful young Prince, and his Nephew *Licinius*, were all three barbarously murdered by him; and that, having been, soon after he committed those unnatural Crimes, visited by Heaven with the Leprosie, he consulted the Heathen Priests to know of them

them



them, how he might be cured of that loathsome Disease ; and being told by them, that there was no other Cure for it, but to bath himself in a Pond filled with the fresh Blood of Infants ; In Compliance with that inhumane Prescription, vast Multitudes of Children were snatched from their Mothers Breasts, with whose Blood that Pond was to be filled : But on the Night before that direful Slaughter was to have been, contrary to that Emperor's Inclinations, *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul* appeared to *Constantine* as he was asleep, and commanded him to send forthwith for *Silvester*, Bishop of *Rome*, whom, by his present cruel Persecution, he had chased into the Caverns of the Mountain *Soracte*, and he would prescribe a Bath to him, that would infallibly cure him of his Leprosie ; charging him, after he was cured of that Disease, to throw away all his Idols, and to worship the true God only, and to restore to the Christians all their Churches.

*Constantine* being awakened with this Vision, immediately sent some of his Officers to Mount *Soracte*, to fetch Pope *Silvester* to him, out of its Caverns : When *Silvester* first heard those Officers Voice, concluding, they were come to martyr them all, he cried out to his Clergy that were about him, *This is the acceptable Time, this is the Day of Salvation* ; but when he came to speak with them, he found that was not their Business, but to invite him to come to the Emperor, which he did,

#### 4      *The Grand Forgery display'd.*

being accompanied by three of his Presbiters, and two of his Deacons. He was received by *Constantine* with great Joy; who having given him a Relation of his Vision, asked him, what Gods *Peter* and *Paul* were, that had appeared to him: *Silvester* answered, they were not Gods, but the worthy Servants of Christ; and the elect Apostles he sent to preach his Gospel to the Gentiles. *Constantine* asked him, whether he had their Pictures, by which he might know whether they were the two Persons that he had seen. *Silvester* said he had both their Pictures; and having sent one of his Deacons to fetch them, he shewed them both to *Constantine*, who, as soon as he saw them, cried out with a loud Voice, these are the very Persons that appeared to me; the Holy Ghost must not therefore delay any longer to shew me the Pond in which they both promised me I should meet with a Cure for my Leprosie. *Silvester* told him, that Pond was the *Font* of Baptism, in which his Body and Soul would both be infallibly cured of their Leprosie: *Constantine* was in great Haste to be baptized; but *Silvester* would not administer that Sacrament to him, until he had first taught him his Catechism, and had kept him for seven Days in a State of Penitence: After that *Constantine*, having laid aside his *Sackcloth*, and put on his *Whites*, was baptized by *Silvester* with great Solemnity; and was, whilst he was in the *Font*, cured of his Leprosie, by  
Christ's

Christ's having stretched forth his Hand to him.

The Font *Constantine* was baptized in, was all of *Porphiry* Stone, overlaid within and without with pure Silver, which weighed three thousand and eight Pounds: in the middle of the Font stood a *Porphiry* Pillar with a Basen on its Top, of most pure Gold, which weighed fifty Pounds, in which two hundred Pounds of Balsam was burnt: On the *Labrum* of the Font stood a Lamb of the purest Gold, pouring Water out of his Mouth, that weighed thirty Pounds: On the Right Side of the Lamb stood a Statue of Christ, made of Silver, that weighed an hundred and seventy Pounds; and on the left a Statue of *John* the Baptist, in Silver too, that weighed an hundred Pounds. There were also seven Harts in Silver, pouring out Water, which weighed eighty Pounds apiece, and an Incense-pot of most pure Gold, that weighed ten Pound, and was adorned with two and forty rich Jewels.

To this Font *Constantine* made a great Donation; which I shall set down here, as I shall likewise all his following Donations, in their own Original Latin; because they cannot possibly, in any other Language, look so like themselves, as they do in that.



*Donum sancto Fonti.*

' **M**assa Festi ex territorio Prænestino,  
 ' præstans solidos trecentos; Massa Ga-  
 ' ba ex territorio Gabinensi præstans solidos  
 ' ducentos & duos; Massa Pictas ex territo-  
 ' rio supradicto præstans solidos ducentos quin-  
 ' que; Massa Statiliana ex territorio Sorano  
 ' præstans solidos trecentos; Massa intra Si-  
 ' ciliam, Taurana, ex territorio Parentiensi,  
 ' præstans solidos quingentos: Intra urbem  
 ' Romam domus vel horti præstantes solidos  
 ' bis mille trecentos; Fundus Bassi præstans  
 ' solidos centum viginti; Massa Laninas, ex  
 ' territorio Carfiolano præstans solidos ducen-  
 ' tos; Fundus Catulli, ex territorio Nomen-  
 ' tano, præstans solidos quinquaginta; Massa  
 ' Statiana, ex territorio Sabinensi, præstans  
 ' solidos trecentos quinquaginta; Massa Mu-  
 ' rina, ex territorio Appiano Albanensi, præ-  
 ' stans solidos trecentos; Massa Virginis, ex  
 ' territorio Sorano, præstans solidos ducen-  
 ' tos.  
 ' Transmarina intra partes Africæ: Massa  
 ' Vincis, ex territorio Mucario, præstans soli-  
 ' dos octingentos; Massa Capfis, ex territorio  
 ' Capsitano, præstans solidos sexcentos; Mas-  
 ' sa Varia Sardana præstans solidos quingen-  
 ' tos; Massa Camaras, ex territorio Curta-  
 ' lupi, præstans solidos quadringentos quin-  
 ' que; Massa Nummas, ex territorio Numi-  
 ' diæ, præstans solidos sexcentos quinquaginta;

ginta; Massa Sulphurata, ex territorio Numidia, præstans solidos septingentos viginti; Massa Baldarioliaria, ex territorio Numidia, præstans solidos octingentos & decem. In Græcia Massa Cephalenia præstans solidos quingentos. In Mengaulo Massa Amazoni præstans solidos ducentos viginti duos.

I own that I have not Skill enough in the Legendary Geography, to be able to translate this, and the two following Donations, and for that Reason should be glad to see a learned Commentary upon these antient Terriers.

On the Day he was baptized, *Constantine* made a Law, that Christ who had cured him of his Leprosie was the true Lord, and that all the *Roman* World ought to worship him. On the Day after he decreed Punishments against those that should blaspheme or deride Christ. On the third Day he made a Law against all that should reproach Christians. On the fourth Day he adorned the *Roman* Church with Privileges, which exalted it above all other Churches. On the fifth Day he granted the Immunity to Churches, that none that had fled to them should be taken out of them by Force. On the sixth Day he made a Law against the Building of any Church, without the Bishop of *Rome's* License. On the seventh Day, being still in his *Whites*, he made a Law for Payment of Tithes. On the eighth Day, having put off his

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his *Whites*, and resumed his Imperial Robes, he went in his Chariot to the *Vatican*, with *Silvester* by his Side, where having alighted, and taken a Spade in his Hand, he opened the Foundations of the Magnificent Church he designed to build in that Place; and having done that, he carried, according to the Number of the Apostles, twelve Baskets of Earth upon his own Shoulders.

On this Church, which was dedicated to *St. Peter*, and was built on the Ground where *Apollo's* Temple had stood, besides a vast Treasure of Gold and Silver, he bestowed a very great and honourable Revenue, as appears from the following Rent-Roll.

‘ In civitate Antiochia domum Datiani  
 ‘ præstantem solidos ducentos quadragin-  
 ‘ ta; Domunculam Nicænam præstantem  
 ‘ solidos viginti & tremissem; Cellas in  
 ‘ Asphrodisia præstantes solidos viginti; Bal-  
 ‘ neum in Cerethea præstans solidos qua-  
 ‘ draginta duos; Pristinum ubi supra præstans  
 ‘ solidos viginti tres; Popinas ubi supra præ-  
 ‘ stantes solidos decem; Hortum Maronis ubi  
 ‘ supra præstantem solidos decem; Hortum  
 ‘ ubi supra præstantem solidos undecim; sub  
 ‘ civitate Antiochena possessionem Sibyllinam  
 ‘ donatam Augusto præstantem solidos trecen-  
 ‘ tos viginti duos, cartadecadas centum quin-  
 ‘ quaginta, aromatum libras ducentas, balsami  
 ‘ libras triginta quinque; sub civitate Alex-  
 ‘ andrina possessionem Timialicam donatam  
 ‘ Augusto Constantino ab Ambronio præstan-  
 ‘ tem



tem solidos sexcentos viginti, cartadecadas trecentas, olei Nardini libras trecentas, balsami sexaginta, aromatum libras centum quinquaginta, storacis Isauricæ libras quinquaginta; possessionem Eutimi Caduci præstantem solidos quingentos, cartadecadas septuaginta; per Ægyptum sub civitate Armeniæ, possessionem Agapii, quam donavit Constantino Augusto; possessionem Panopoliten præstantem solidos octingentos, cartadecadas quadringentas, piperis medimnos quinquaginta, croci libras centum, storacis libras centum quinquaginta, aromatum casiæ libras ducentas, olei Nardini libras trecentas, balsami libras centum, lini faccos centum, caryophyllorum libras centum quinquaginta, olei Cyprini libras centum, papyri cannas mundas mille: Possessionem, quam donavit Constantino Augusto Ibronius, præstantem solidos quadringentos quinquaginta, cartadecadas ducentas, aromatum casiæ libras quinquaginta, balsami libras quinquaginta: In provincia Euphratenfi sub civitate Cyro possessionem Armanazon, præstantem solidos trecentos octoginta; sub Tarso Ciliciæ insulam Cordionum præstantem solidos Non-  
gentos.

I believe it will puzzle the most current Collector of the Papal Revenues, tho' he could have these Rents for sending for, to find out some of the Countries, much less the particular Estates that are charged with them in this Donation, namely the Possession of *Armanazon*,

nazon, in the City of *Cyrus*, in the Province of *Euphrates*, which ought to pay them yearly three hundred and eighty Shillings; a prodigious Rent in *Constantine's* Days.

Now *Constantine's* Hand was in at building of Churches, *Silvester* held him to it, and perswaded him to build and endow a Church likewise to Saint *Paul*, whose Body as well as Saint *Peters* was found by them. The Endowment of Saint *Paul's* Church, was as follows.

Sub ciyitate Tyria possessionem Comitam præstantem solidos quingentos quinquaginta; Possessionem Formimufam pensantem solidos septingentos. Possessionem Timiam præstantem solidos ducentos quinquaginta, olei Nardini libras septuaginta, aromatum libras quinquaginta, Casiæ libras quinquaginta. Sub civitate Ægyptia possessionem Cyrenos præstantem septingentos decem olei Nardini libras septuaginta, balsami libras triginta, aromatum libras septuaginta, storacis libras triginta, stactes libras centum quinquaginta. Possessionem Basilicam præstantem solidos quingentos quinquaginta, aromatum libras quinquaginta, olei Nardini libras sexaginta, balsami libras viginti, croci libras sexaginta. Possessionem insulæ Machabæ præstantem solidos quingentos decem, papyri racanas mundas quingentas, lini faccos trecentos.

The setting of Rents, arising out of Estates in *Greece*, *Africa* and *Asia*, on a Font, and on Churches in *Rome*, cannot but look very strange,

strange, until the Design is perceived, for which that is said to have been done; which was to have persuaded the World that these Payments from those remote Regions, were all of the Nature of Tributes, and Homages to the *Roman* See, as their Mother-Church and Font; for tho' the Legendary Advocates were the worst Drawers up of Deeds that were ever employed about that Work; they commonly had Craft enough to serve one Interest or another of the *Roman* See by them, in these Ages, when their being counterfeit was not discovered, nor so much as suspected.

*Constantine* is said to have built likewise at this time a magnificent Church in his Palace of the Lateran, and to have adorned and endowed it with great Riches; but these remote Rents being all lost long ago, I am quite weary of registering any more of the old obscure Rent-Rolls, which are upon Record in *Constantine's* Donations.

Tho' the forementioned Donations were, in themselves all very considerable, they were Trifles to the great Donation, which is said to have been made at this time by *Constantine*, to *Silvester*, and to all his Successors in the *Roman* See: Which glorious Donation I shall here set down, as it lies in a Letter written near seven hundred Years ago, by Pope *Leo IX.* to *Michael* Emperor of *Constantinople*; because that Copy of it is infallibly authentick, if that Pope's solemnly affirming it is sufficient to prove it so.



*Constantine's Donation, as it lies in a Letter of  
Pope Leo IX's writ about the Year 1050.*

‘ **U**Tile judicavimus una cum omnibus no-  
 ‘ stris Satrapis & universo Senatu Opti-  
 ‘ matibus, etiam & cuncto populo Romanæ  
 ‘ gloriæ imperio subjacente, ut sicut B. Petrus  
 ‘ in terris vicarius filii Dei videtur esse consti-  
 ‘ tutus, ita etiam & Pontifices ipsius principis  
 ‘ Apostolorum vice principatus potestatem,  
 ‘ amplius quam terrenæ imperialis nostræ se-  
 ‘ renitatis mansuetudo habere videtur, con-  
 ‘ cessam a nobis nostroque imperio obtineant,  
 ‘ eligentes nobis ipsum principem Apostolo-  
 ‘ rum vel ejus vicarios firmos apud Deum esse  
 ‘ patronos. Et sicut nostra est terrena impe-  
 ‘ rialis potentia, ita ejus sacrosanctam Roma-  
 ‘ nam Ecclesiam decrevimus veneranter hono-  
 ‘ rare, & amplius quam nostrum imperium  
 ‘ terrenumq; thronum sedem sacratissimam B.  
 ‘ Petri gloriosè exaltare; tribuentes ei pote-  
 ‘ statem & gloriæ dignitatem atq; vigorem ho-  
 ‘ norificentiam Imperialem: Atque decernen-  
 ‘ tes sancimus, ut principatum teneat tam su-  
 ‘ per quatuor sedes Alexandrinam, Antioche-  
 ‘ nam, Hierosolymitanam ac Constantinopo-  
 ‘ litanam, quamque etiam super omnes in uni-  
 ‘ verso orbe terrarum Dei Ecclesias; & Pon-  
 ‘ tifex, qui pro tempore ipsius sacrosanctæ  
 ‘ Romanæ Ecclesiæ extiterit, cellior & Prin-  
 ‘ cept cunctis Sacerdotibus totius mundi exi-  
 ‘ stat: Et ejus judicio quæque ad cultum Dei,  
 ‘ vel

‘ vel fidei Christianorum stabilitatem procu-  
‘ randa fuerint disponantur. Justum quippe  
‘ est, ut ibi lex sancta caput teneat principa-  
‘ tus, ubi sanctarum legum Institutor, Salva-  
‘ tor noster B. Petrum Apostolum obtinere  
‘ præcepit Cathedram, ubi & crucis patibu-  
‘ lum sustinens, beatæ mortis sumpsit pocu-  
‘ lum sui que magistri & domini imitator appa-  
‘ ruit. Et ibi pro Christi nominis confessio-  
‘ ne colla flectant, ubi eorum Doctor B. Pau-  
‘ lus Apostolus pro Christo extenso collo mar-  
‘ tyrio est coronatus : Et illic usque ad finem  
‘ quærant Doctorem ubi sanctorum Doctorum  
‘ quiescunt corpora : Et ibi proni & humo  
‘ prostrati, coelestis Regis Dei & salvatoris no-  
‘ stri Jesu Christi famulentur officio, ubi su-  
‘ perbi terreni Regis serviebant Imperio. Et  
‘ succincte commemorato suo studio & devo-  
‘ tione in construendis aliquot sanctorum Ba-  
‘ silicis & Imperialium donationum magnifi-  
‘ centiâ abundante ditatis, ait : Concedimus  
‘ ipsis sanctis Apostolis dominis meis beatissi-  
‘ mis Petro & Paulo, & per hos etiam B. Sil-  
‘ vestro patri nostro summo Pontifici, & u-  
‘ niversali urbis Romæ Papæ, & omnibus ejus  
‘ successoribus Pontificibus, qui usque ad finem  
‘ mundi in sede B. Petri erunt sessuri, atque  
‘ de præsentī contradimus palatium Imperiī  
‘ nostri Lateranense, quod omnibus in toto  
‘ orbe terrarum præfertur atque præcellit pa-  
‘ latii. Deinde Diadema, videlicet coronam  
‘ capitis nostri, simulque phrygium necnon  
‘ & superhumera videlicet lorum, quod im-  
‘ periale



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1 periale circumdare affolet collum : Verum  
 2 etiam & chlamydem purpuream, atq; tuni-  
 3 cam coccinam, & omnia imperialia indumen-  
 4 ta, sed & dignitatem Imperialium præfiden-  
 5 tium equitum, conferentes ei etiam Imperi-  
 6 alia Sceptra, simulque cuncta signa atque  
 7 banda etiam & diversa ornamenta Imperialia,  
 8 & omnem processionem Imperialis culminis,  
 9 & gloriam potestatis nostræ. Viros etiam  
 10 reverendissimos Clericos diversi ordinis, ei-  
 11 dem sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ servientes,  
 12 illud culmen singulâris potentia & præcel-  
 13 lentia habere sancimus, cujus amplissimus  
 14 noster Senatus videtur gloria adornari, id est  
 15 Patricios atque Consules effici necnon & cæ-  
 16 teris dignitatibus Imperialibus eos promulga-  
 17 mus decorari. Et sicut Imperialis extat de-  
 18 corata militia ita & Clerum sanctæ Romanæ  
 19 Ecclesiæ ornari decernimus. Et quemad-  
 20 modum Imperialis potentia diversis officiis,  
 21 cubiculariorum, nempe & ostiariarum, at-  
 22 que omnium excubitorum ornatur, ita &  
 23 sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam decorari volu-  
 24 mus. Et ut amplissime Pontificale decus  
 25 præfulgeat, decernimus & hoc, ut Clerici  
 26 ejusdem sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ mappulis  
 27 & linteaminibus, id est, candidissimo colore  
 28 decoratos equos equitent & sicut noster sena-  
 29 tus calcamentis utitur cum udonibus, id est,  
 30 candido linteamine illustratus sic utantur &  
 31 Clerici, & ita cœlestia sicut terrena ad lau-  
 32 dem Dei decorentur. Præ omnibus autem  
 33 licentiam tribuentes, concedimus ipsi sanctif-  
 34 fimo

‘ fimo Patri nostro Silvestro urbis Romæ E-  
‘ piscopo & Papæ, & omnibus qui post eum  
‘ in successu, & perpetuis temporibus advene-  
‘ rint beatissimis Pontificibus pro honore &  
‘ gloria Christi Dei nostri in eadem magna  
‘ Dei Catholica & Apostolica Ecclesia ex no-  
‘ stro indicto, quem placatus proprio consilio  
‘ clericare voluerit, & in numero religioso-  
‘ rum Clericorum connumerare, nullum ex  
‘ omnibus præsumentem superbe agere.

‘ Decrevimus itaque & hoc, ut idem vene-  
‘ rabilis pater noster Silvester summus Ponti-  
‘ fex, vel omnes ei succedentes Pontifices, dia-  
‘ demate (videlicet corona, quam ex capite  
‘ nostro illi concessimus) ex auro purissimo,  
‘ & gemmis pretiosis uti debeant, & in capite  
‘ ad laudem Dei pro honore B. Petri gestare.  
‘ Ipse vero beatissimus Papa super Coronam  
‘ Clericatus, quam gerit ad gloriam beati Pe-  
‘ tri, omnino ipsa ex auro non est passus uti  
‘ corona: Phrygium autem candido nitore,  
‘ splendidam resurrectionem Dominicam de-  
‘ signans ejus sacratissimo vertici manibus no-  
‘ stris imposuimus, & tenentes frænum equi  
‘ ipsius pro reverentia beati Petri, stratoris il-  
‘ li officium exhibuimus: Statuentes eodem  
‘ phrygio omnes successores ejus singulariter  
‘ uti in processionibus, ad imitationem Impe-  
‘ rii nostri. Unde ut Pontificalis apex non  
‘ vilescat; sed magis quam terreni Imperii  
‘ dignitas & gloriæ potentia decoretur, ecce  
‘ tam palatium nostrum, ut prælatum est quam  
‘ Romanam urbem & omnes Italiæ, seu occi-  
‘ dentalium

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dentalium regionum provincias, loca & civi-  
 tates sæpe fato beatissimo Pontifici & Patri  
 nostro Silvestro, universali Papæ, contraden-  
 tes & relinquentes ei vel successoribus ip-  
 sius Pontificibus potestatem & ditionem fir-  
 mam imperiali censurâ per hanc nostram  
 divalem jussionem, & pragmaticum consti-  
 tutum decernimus disponenda, atque juri  
 sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ concedimus per-  
 mansura. Unde congruum prospeximus  
 nostrum Imperium & Regni protestatem O-  
 rientalibus transferri ac transmutari regi-  
 onibus, & in Byzantiæ provinciæ optimo lo-  
 co nomini nostro civitatem ædificari, &  
 nostrum illic constitui Imperium; quoniam  
 ubi principatus Sacerdotum & Christianæ  
 religionis caput ab Imperatore cœlesti con-  
 stitutum est, justum non est, ut illic terrenus  
 Imperator habeat potestatem. Hæc vëro  
 omnia, quæ per hanc Imperialem sacram &  
 per alia divalia decreta statuimus, atq; con-  
 firmavimus, usque ad finem mundi illibata  
 & inconcussa permansura decernimus. De-  
 inde factâ obtestatione coram Deo vivo, &  
 terribili ejus judicio, & imprecatione æternæ  
 condemnationis temeratori vel contemptori  
 ipsius sui privilegii, secutus idem venerabi-  
 lis Constantinus ait: Hujus vero Imperialis  
 nostri decreti paginam propriis manibus ro-  
 borantes, super venerandum corpus B. Petri  
 principis Apostolorum posuimus, ibique ei-  
 dem Dei Apostolo spondentes nos cuncta in-  
 violabiter conservare, & nostris successoribus  
Impe-



‘ Imperatoribus conservanda in mandatis re-  
 ‘ linquere, patri nostro Silvestro summo Pon-  
 ‘ tifici, & universali Papæ, & per eum cun-  
 ‘ ctis successoribus ejus Pontificibus, Domino  
 ‘ Deo & Salvatore nostro Jesu Christo, an-  
 ‘ nuente, tradimus feliciter atque perenniter  
 ‘ possidenda.

This Donation in *Gratian*, and others,  
 bears Date at *Rome* the third Calends of  
*April, Domino nostro Flavio Constantino Augu-*  
*sto quater, & Gallicano Coss.*

What a noble Gift was this to the See of  
*Rome*, the whole *Western* Empire at a Lump?  
 And how strong must *Constantine's* Devotion  
 have been to oblige him, to leave the antient  
 Seat of the Empire, and to build a new Seat for  
 it in the *East*, for no other Reason, but that an  
 earthly Emperor might have no Authority  
 where the Pope was, who was by the Emperor  
 of Heaven constituted the Head of the Church?  
 This Reason for *Constantine's* having removed  
 the Seat of the Empire into the *East*, is a Cu-  
 riosity no where else to be met with, but in  
 this Donation.

Since it might seem to be an Injustice to  
 this great Donation, for to publish it here  
 out of *Leo's* Letters, without the Prologue  
 and Epilogue of Recommendation bestowed  
 upon it by that Pope, I shall for that Reason, and  
 to let the World see how infallible a Proof of  
 the Truth of any Thing, a Pope's positive and  
 solemn Attestation to it is, set them both  
 down here in that Pope's own Words in that  
 Letter.

‘ Sed ne forte, inquit Leo Papa, adhuc de  
 ‘ terrena ipsius dominatione, aliquis vobis du-  
 ‘ bietatis supersit scrupulus; neve leviter su-  
 ‘ spicemini ineptis & anilibus fabulis sanctam  
 ‘ Romanam sedem velle sibi inconcussam ho-  
 ‘ norem vindicare & defensare aliquatenus;  
 ‘ pauca privilegia ejusdem Constantini manu  
 ‘ cum cruce aurea super cœlestis clavigeri ve-  
 ‘ nerabile corpus posito, ad medium profere-  
 ‘ mus; quibus fundetur veritas & confunda-  
 ‘ tur vanitas, ut omnia Membra Catholicæ  
 ‘ matris cognoscant, nos illius Petri discipli-  
 ‘ næ esse; qui sic in epistola sua ait de se,  
 ‘ *Non enim doctas fabulas secuti, notam vobis*  
 ‘ *fecimus Domini nostri Jesu Christi virtutem,*  
 ‘ *sed speculatores facti illius magnitudinis:* Et  
 ‘ nos vobis inculcare non tam relatu quo-  
 ‘ libet, quam quæ ipso visu & tactu comperta  
 ‘ sunt, vel admoniti recognoscite, quia idem  
 ‘ gloriosus Princeps in jam dicto privilegio post  
 ‘ Christianæ fidei claram perfectamque con-  
 ‘ fessionem, atque baptismatis sui enucleatam  
 ‘ commendationem, specialem sanctæ Roma-  
 ‘ næ Ecclesiæ dignitatem sic promulgavit.

But lest perhaps, saith *Leo*, some Scruple  
 may still remain with you concerning its earth-  
 ly Domination, (that is, the Papacy's;) and that  
 you may not so much as lightly suspect, that  
 the holy *Roman* See seeks to vindicate and de-  
 fend its unshaken Honour with foolish and old  
 Wives Fables, we will here produce a few  
 Privileges which were confirmed by the  
 Hand of the said *Constantine*, with a Cross  
 of



of Gold laid upon the venerable Body of the Celestial Key-bearer, by which Truth will be confirmed, and Vanity will be confounded: And that all the Members of the Catholick Mother may see thereby that we do observe the Discipline of the Saint *Peter*, who in his Epistle saith thus of himself; *we do not follow learned Fables, but do make manifest unto you the Power of our Lord Jesus Christ, being made Speculators of his Greatness*: So we do inculcate to you Things that are not known so much by Report, as they are by Sight and Feeling; wherefore being told of it, Know ye that the same glorious Prince in the aforesaid Privilege, did, after a clear and perfect Confession of the Christian Faith, and a curious Commendation of his Baptism, thus promulgate the special Dignity of the *Roman Church*.

Was there ever any Truth spoke of with more Assurance, or with a greater Air of Devotion, than *Constantine's* Donation, and the *Roman Church's* never having made use of Fables, are spoke of here by *Leo*.

As *Leo* is, you see, in his Prologue to this Donation, very peremptory that it is authentic, so he triumphs in his Epilogue to it, as if its being so were made indubitable by him, saying, ‘*Tot ergo & talibus, aliisque quam plurimis testimoniis subnixæ, non erubescit veritas, sed confutatur impudens vanitas*: Wherefore Truth being supported by these and many more such Testimonies, does not blush, but

C 2

impudent

*impudent Vanity is confounded.* If this Pope had had any Shame in him, he would never have ventured on this Occasion to have spoke either of Blushing or of Impudence; or if he had had any Religion, would he have dared to have made such a Grimace as this.

For as if he himself believed all that he saith here so positively, and with so great an Air of Religion, concerning these Donations being indubitably authentick, he was certainly the simplest and most credulous Man that ever put Pen to Paper: So if he did not believe it himself, as it is more than probable he did not, he was a most prophane and vile Hypocrite to cant about it, as he does. However, what this Pope saith here so dogmatically of the Instrument of *Constantine's* Donation, and its being authentick, ought to be remembred.

Here I cannot forbear observing, that this Pope's, and Pope *Nicholas's*, and their Brethrens Letters genuine and suppositious, which were written about this Time, to exalt and establish the Supremacy of the *Roman* Pontificate, are, to the best of my Knowledge, the very *Originals of Canting*; and if they are so, *Canting*, as well as some other Arts, was plainly in its Perfection, at its Birth; being no where weaker or more barbarous, as to Reason or Authority, nor no where stronger and more impregnable as to Forehead and Positiveness; for the Truth is, *Canting*, *Enthusiasm*, and divers other Things, the Papists do insult upon in some Protestants, are only  
Copies

Copies of Popish Originals, as all must perceive, who, to satisfy their Curiosity, will undergo the Penance of reading over those Papal Letters.

*Silvester* having obtained this great Donation from *Constantine*, was not satisfied, until he had the Supremacy granted by it to his See, confirm'd by the Authority of the Church; and to that End he is said to have called a Synod in *Rome*, at which were present both *Constantine*, and his Mother, and above three hundred Bishops, with a long Train of Presbyters and Deacons. The twenty Canons that are said to have been enacted by this Council are still extant; and the last of them, for whose Sake all the rest were made, is as followeth.

*Nemo enim judicabit Primam Sedem, quoniam omnes Sedes a Prima Sede justitiam desiderant temperari; neque ab Augusto, neque ab omni Clero, neque a Regibus, neque a Populo, Judex judicabitur.* None shall shall judge the First See, because all Sees do desire from the First See to have Justice tempered; neither by *Augustus*, nor by the whole Clergy, nor by Kings, nor by the People, shall the Judge be judged.

This long Story concludes, Farce like, with a Romantick Adventure, of Pope *Silvester's* having, with the Sign of the Cross, lock'd the brazen Gates of a Cave so fast, wherein a dreadful Serpent was lodged, that kill'd all that came near that Cave, unless they came



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to worship him, with his poisonous Breath ; that those brazen Gates were never to be opened any more before the Day of Judgment, when they will fly open of themselves : This grim Serpent, according to this Story of him, is still alive in that close Prison ; and whereas he had been formerly worshipped by all the *Romans*, on the Calends of every Month, and used to have a fresh Supply of Provisions carried to him by the Vestal Virgins of *Rome*. The learned are not agreed about the Place where this Serpent is still kept a Prisoner : Some are Opinion, that this Cave with the brazen Gates was under the Capitol ; but others are of the Mind that it is rather at the Bottom of the *Palatine Hill* ; had not this Serpent's Mouth, as well as his brazen Gates, been lock'd close by Pope *Silvester*, he would certainly have discovered the Place where his Prison is, long before this Time, and thereby have either prevented, or have put an End to this learned Controversie. Here it might not perhaps be unworthy the Enquiry of a Legendary Virtuoso, whether this Serpent's turning himself in his Cave ( for it is not to be imagined that he never changeth his Posture in it ) may not be the Cause of the frequent Earthquakes that are in *Rome* ; uncommon and direful Events, being according to their Philosophy, oftentimes the Effects of such occult Causes.

Before

Before I go about the easie work, of demonstrating this long Tale to be a meer Fable; and a very dull one too; I will take notice of the use the *Roman* See, for whose Benefit this Fable was devised, has made of it; and how in Fact, *Constantine's* Donation, as spurious as it is, was the Foundation of all that *Roman* See's Temporal Empire.

*Marca*, the learned Archbishop of *Paris*, is of opinion, that the Writing called *Constantine's* Donation, was forged by Pope *Paul* the first, or for his Use, that he might have something wherewith to stop the Mouths of the *Eastern* Emperors, who complained aloud of the Injustice that had been done them by King *Pepin's* having given to the *Roman* See the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, with some other Countries in *Italy*, which belonged to their Empire.

But tho' I do entirely agree with that learned Prelate, about the time when, and the end for which that Donation was forged: I do take that counterfeit Deed to be the Work of Pope *Stephen*, who was both Uncle and immediate Predecessor to *Paul* the first; and the Reason why I think so, is, because King *Pepin's* Grant of the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, &c. to the *Roman* See, to which he was much disposed by that forged Deed, was in the time of *Stephen's* Pontificate: For if what *Baronius* and others, who if *Pepin's* Grant is in being, must needs have seen it, do say of that Grant be true, this matter is put



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out of all doubt by it : The thing they say is, that in his Grant, *Pepin* saith not, that by virtue of it, he did *give* to the *Roman* See the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, &c. but saith in it expressly, that he *Restored* all those Countries to to that See ; which proves plainly, that that Prince, before he made that Grant, had been persuaded by the Pope, that the *Roman* See had a Right to all those Countries antecedent to his Grant of them : And for that Reason his Grant was no *Donation*, but only a *Restitution* of those Countries to the See of *Rome*, to whom they belonged of right : Neither is it improbable that *Pepin*, having been imposed on by the Pope so far as to look on the *Writing* called *Constantine's* Donation, as an authentick Instrument, might be glad to have brought Pope *Stephen*, who by that Donation, had a right to the whole *Western* Empire, to so low a Composition, as to be contented with the Countries he had restored to him. Now since the *Roman* See could not derive this supposed antecedent Right to those Countries, either from Saint *Peter*, or from any Conquest it had ever made of them, it must therefore have derived that supposed Right from one Emperor or another ; and who so fit as *Constantine*, who was the first Christian Emperor, and was for that Reason at the greatest distance of time of any such Emperor, from King *Pepin*, to be made by the Popes, the Author of that Donation. Thus by vertue of this forged Donation, which as appears, from  
Pope

Pope *Leo IX's* Proof of it, was maintained to be indubitably an authentick Instrument, by mere dint of Papal Effrontery, not only the *Eastern* Emperors Mouths were stopt, in the Opinion of the *Italians*, when those Emperors complained of the Injustice that had been done them by King *Pepin* ; but King *Pepin* was likewise disposed by it to make his Grant of *Restitution* ; and the People also in the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, &c. were prepared by it, to submit the more willingly to the Pope, as their Sovereign, who had been so long kept out of the Possession of his Right.

But tho' I cannot allow *Paul* the First, at least, after he was Pope, to have been the Forger of this useful Donation of *Constantines* ; he contributed nevertheless to the keeping of that Donation, which was made for Saint *Peter's* Sake, something in countenance ; being the happy Discoverer of that Apostle's having had a Daughter buried in *Rome* ; where he met with the following Inscription on an ancient Monument, made of Silver. *Petronilla Filia Dulcissima*. Concluding, that the *Petronilla* mentioned there, must certainly have been Saint *Peter's* most sweet Daughter, he had both that Silver Monument, and the Body that was in it removed with great Ecclesiastical Pomp, from the *Appian* Way to the *Vatican*, where St. *Petronilla* is worshipped to this Day as St. *Peter's* Daughter ; the finding out of whose Body in *Rome*, and in a Silver Monument too, was at that Time undoubtedly

doubtedly made Use of as a strong Evidence of *St. Peter's* having been Bishop of that City, to which, for that Apostle's Sake, *Constantine* was so kind.

This Inscription being all the Evidence the Church of *Rome* has for her *St. Petronilla's* being *St. Peter's* Daughter, I shall, notwithstanding the true Legend that is writ of that Saint, leave it to Antiquaries to judge, whether both the Name *Petronilla*, and the Words *Filiæ Dulcissimæ*, do not look much more like an Heathen Roman than like either a Jewish or a Christian Funeral Inscription. To return.

*Constantine's* Donation, for having been thus the Foundation of all the Papal Temporal Empire, as the Decretal Epistles, which were forged much about the same Time, were the Foundation of its Ecclesiastical, was thro' many dark Ages the great Idol of the *Roman* See; which was still making Use of it, as there was Occasion, as we have seen Pope *Leo IX.* did, who was born near three hundred Years after King *Pepin's* Restitution had been made upon that Deed; I shall not repeat here what is said by that Pope of its being undoubtedly an authentick Instrument.

This Donation is mentioned by *Hincmarus Rhemensis*, who flourished about the Middle of the ninth Century, and not long after, in the same Century, it is published at Length by *Ado Viennensis*.



Towards the middle of the eleventh Century, when the Bishops of *Rome* were wrestling fiercely with the Emperors for Jurisdiction, the Substance of this Donation was very seasonably produced by the Cardinal *Petrus Damianus*, the great Papal Champion in that Quarrel, in his *Synodical Disceptation* betwixt the *Emperor's Advocate*, and the *Defender of the Roman See*; I shall here set down the Cardinal's own Words, because they shew plainly, how common and useful a Weapon this Donation was all along in the Hands of the Papal Champions.

‘ Lege, inquit Damianus, Constantini Imperatoris edictum, ubi sedis Apostolicæ constituit super omnes in orbe terrarum Ecclesias principatum : Nam postquam supra corpus B. Petri Basilicam fundator erexit, postquam Patriarchium Lateranense in B. Salvatoris honore construxit, mox per Imperialis Rescripti seriem Romanæ Ecclesiæ constituit dignitatem; ubi nimirum B. Silvestro, suisq; successoribus obtulit, ut regali more & aurea corona plecterent in capite, & cæteras regii cultus infulas usurparent. Verum B. Silvester ornamenta, quæ sacerdotali congruere judicabat officio, in proprios usus assumpsit; coronam vero & cætera quæ magis ambitiosa, quam mystica videbantur, omisit. Cui etiam Constantinus Lateranense palatium, quod ea tenus aula regalis extiterat, perpetuo jure concessit, regnumq; Italiæ judicandum tradidit. Nam & ipsius  
‘ Regis

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‘ Regis hæc verba sunt; *Unde congruum, in-*  
‘ *quit, prospeximus nostrum imperium, & regni*  
‘ *potestatem orientalibus transferri, ac mutari*  
‘ *regionibus, & in Byzantina provincia in*  
‘ *optimo loco nomini nostro civitatem ædifica-*  
‘ *ri, & nostrum illic constitui imperium, quo-*  
‘ *niam ubi principatus Sacerdotum, & Chri-*  
‘ *stianæ religionis caput, ab Imperatore cœle-*  
‘ *sti constitutum est, justum non est, ut illic*  
‘ *Imperator terrenus habeat potestatem.*

Read, saith *Damianus* to the Emperor's Ad-  
vocate, the Edict of the Emperor *Constantine*,  
when he constituted the Principality of the  
Apostolical See above all the Churches upon  
Earth, who, after he had built a Church over  
the Body of St. *Peter*, and another to the Ho-  
nour of our blessed Saviour in the *Lateran*,  
did forthwith, by an Imperial Rescript, con-  
stitute the Dignity of the *Roman* Church;  
having offered to the blessed *Silvester*, and to  
his Successors, that they might, after the Ex-  
ample of Kings, wear a Crown of Gold on  
their Heads, and all the other Royal Orna-  
ments; but instead of them the blessed *Sil-*  
*vester* did assume Ornaments which he judg-  
ed to be more congruous to their Office, refusing  
the Crown and the other Ornaments, which  
seem to have more of the Air of Ambition than  
any Semblance of Religion. To whom also  
*Constantine* did give, in full Right, his Palace  
of the *Lateran*, and with it the Kingdom of  
*Italy*, to be judged by him; that Emperor's  
own Words were; *On which Account we judge*  
it



*it to be congruous to translate our Empire, and the Authority of our Kingdom into the Eastern Parts, and to place our Imperial City, called after our own Name, in the pleasant Country of Byzantium; because it is not just that where the Principality of the Priests is, and where the Head of the Christian Religion is constituted by the Emperor of Heaven, an earthly Emperor should have any Power.*

I have not seen the Emperor's Advocate's Answer to this Evidence, and so can only say, that if it was not sufficient to have made that Monkish Cardinal blush, if he was capable of it, that he must have been either a very weak Lawyer, a Traitor, or a Coward in his Lord's Cause. This Donation is at length in *Anselmus Lucensis*, who having been Pope *Hildebrand's* great Champion, had undoubtedly, as well as *Damian*, this Donation for his chief Weapon; and towards the latter End of the eleventh Century this Donation is in *Ivo*; and in the Beginning of the twelfth Century it is in *Gratian's Decretum*; which Book has ever since it was published, been of so great Authority in the *Roman See*, that it was never safe for any to suspect any thing that was in it, of being spurious.

The first that I read of in the *Roman Church* that had the Skill and Courage to venture on questioning the Authority of this Donation, was *Laurentius Valla*, who flourished about the Middle of the fifteenth Century; and who  
being

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being a polite Scholar, and one of the first that had been in the *West* for some Ages, he could not help seeing the Spuriousness of that Instrument, which had triumphed so long, as indubitably authentick; and having seen it, he had the Courage to write a Declamation to prove it to be spurious; and tho' I have never seen that Declamation of *Valla's*, yet upon what is said by *Erasmus* of his great Learning and Eloquence, I doubt not of his having in it sufficiently exposed that spurious Papal Brat in all its true Colours. *Valla*, not long after he had made that Declamation, was taken up by the Inquisitors of *Naples*, and was condemned by them to die as an Heretick: Whether that Declamation was an Article against him, or not; it is not improbable that, at Bottom, it might be one of his chief Heresies; and so much *Erasmus* seems to intimate in the Close of *Valla's* Character, where he saith, *Doctis etiam id præstitit, ut posthac circumspectius loqui cogantur*. He likewise afforded the Learned this Advantage, that they might learn to speak more cautiously.

Had *Silvester's* spurious Acts never done the *Roman See* any other Service, besides that of being an Introduction to *Constantine's* Donation, they would have deserved very well of that See; but that was not all the Service they did it: That Passage in them concerning Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul's* Pictures, having been made great Use of by the Popes, as an undeniable Testimony of Images having been long adored

adored by the greatest and truest Christians. So Pope *Adrian*, in his Letter to the Emperor *Constantine*, and his Mother *Irene*, did, to persuade them to consent to the establishing of the Adoration of Images, whose Adoration had been long zealously opposed by some former Christian Emperors, tell them the whole Story at length, as it is above related, of *Constantine* the Great's Leprosie, Vision, Baptism, and of the Pictures of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, *Silvester* had help'd him to: This Passage out of *Silvester's* Acts was not only a Testimony of Images having been long had in great Veneration by true Christians, but it did farther reproach all the Emperors, who had so zealously opposed the Introduction of their Adoration, for having degenerated so much from the Worship of the first Christian Emperor: And for that Reason this was a very proper Testimony for *Adrian* to lay before an Emperor, and whose Name was *Constantine* too: And had this Passage of St. *Peter's* and St. *Paul's* Pictures been recorded in the Gospel, *Adrian* could not have produced it with greater Assurance than it is produced by him out of *Silvester's* Acts. This bold Letter of Pope *Adrian's* is extant in the second Act of the first Session of the second Council of *Nice*, by which Council the Adoration of Images was established; and indeed that Letter could not have been any where in Company more suitable to it, all or most of the Testimonies produced



duced in that Council, for the Adoration of Images, being of the same fabulous Stamp with it ; neither is that any wonder at all, considering that Idolatry does in all Parts owe both its Birth and its Support to Lies and Forgeries ; for which Reason Idols or Images in Worship are in the Scriptures call'd a *Lie*, and God is said to be worshipped in *Truth*, when he is not worshipped by or through them.

*Silvester's* Act, by furnishing the *Roman* See with this, and some more Testimonies of that Bishop, and of the first Christian Emperor having been much devoted to Images, did that See a great Service in Temporalities ; for it was not by any one Thing so much, *Constantine's* Donation always excepted, as by their stickling fiercely against the *Eastern* Emperors for to have the Adoration of Images established ; and by their having, with the Help of *Silvester's*, and some other such Testimonies, carried that Point ; that the Bishops of *Rome* broke the Powers of the Emperors in *Italy*, to the raising of the Papal Dominion upon its Ruins.

*Gregory II.* having excommunicated the Emperor *Leo* for opposing the Adoration of Images, did forbid all his *Italian* Subjects to pay him Tribute any longer ; and by representing him, and the other *Iconoclast* Emperors, for that Reason, as Apostates to Judaism or Mahometism, alienated from them the Hearts of the *Italians*, who by their Monks, and their  
Lying



Lying Miracles, were all charmed into a wonderful Veneration for Images; tho' the Popes, for appearing zealous to introduce that Worship, might with much more Justice have been represented as Apostates to Heathenism; but Things work as they are taken, and not as they are in themselves.

The forementioned Canon, said to have been made by a great Council in *Rome* at this time call'd by Pope *Silvester*, was likewise, as if it had been indubitably authentick, made use of by the Bishops of *Rome* to advance the Authority of their See; so Pope *Nicholas I.* who lived in the middle of the ninth Century, in an angry Letter to the Emperor *Michael*, sends that Canon to him in the following Words. *Consonat autem huic necessaria sententia, sanctus Silvester, Magni Constantini Baptizator Augusti; Neque ab Augusto, neque ab omni Clero, neque a Regibus, neque a Populo Judex judicabitur.* To this necessary Sentence, to wit, that no Person can judge the Bishop of *Rome*, *St. Silvester*, the Baptizer of *Constantine the Great*, does agree; whose Words are, *Neither by the Emperor, nor by all the Clergy, nor by the People, can the Judge (that is the Pope) be judged.*

In this Letter, but without mending the Matter in it, *Nicholas* is very angry with the Emperor *Michael*, for having called the Latin in a former Letter he had wrote to him Barbarous and *Scythick*; and as there is not in any of that Pope's Letters a Passage that is

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more *Scythick* than the Canon that he quotes out of *Silvester's* Council, so *Silvester's* Acts with all their Appendixes being plainly in that *Scythick* Stile, proclaim them all to have been written after the *Latin* Tongue was corrupted in *Rome* by the Inundation of the *Scythian* Nations. No Pope, that I know of, has ever made any use of the Story of *Silvester's* imprisoned Serpent to the Advantage of their See; and it is very much that they did not, since great Use might have been made of it, if it was universally believed, as one would think it might, since *Baronius*, for his Part, professes that he believed it: For had it been a Part of this Serpent's Story, that his brazen Gates were to fly open, and his poisonous Breath to rush out, and strike dead all that should dare to assault *Rome*, after *Silvester's* Successors were Lords of it; that might perhaps have hindered some Christian Captains, by whom it was stormed, from ever having attack'd it; and that Serpent under the Capitol might perhaps have proved as great a Security to a Papal *Rome*, as the *Palladium* was to *Rome* Heathen. Happy would it be for *Sicily*, if *Enceladus*, with his fiery Breath, would but lye as quiet under Mount *Ætna*, as *Silvester's* Serpent with his poisonous Breath, lyes under the *Capitol*, or the *Palatine* Mountain in *Rome*.

Having now seen plainly how the *Roman* See was handed into all its Territories and temporal Jurisdictions, by the forementioned Instruments,

struments, as it was into its Ecclesiastical by the Decretal Epistles; which two Setts of Writings do resemble one another so much, that some nice Judges in Deeds are of the Opinion that they were both drawn up by the same Papal Lawyer: It is time now for to look into the Merits of those important Writings.

As to *Silvester's* Acts, which are the Foundation of all the rest, their Conceits, Words, Phrases, and their whole Composure, are so flat, barbarous and Legendary, and do so much resemble the *Western* Writings in the eighth Century, and are so unlike those of *Constantine's* Time, that one can scarce think it possible for a Man of any Learning or Judgment in Ecclesiastical Writings, to bring himself to fancy them to be genuine, there being scarce a single Sentence in them that has not one Mark or another upon it of its being spurious. However, since all the sworn Papal Champions, foreseeing of how ill Consequence it must be to the *Roman* See, after it had made so great Use of those Deeds, to give them all up as a Forgery, do not only pretend that they themselves do believe those Acts to be authentick, but do with great Boldness, and an Air of Triumph, maintain that they are so; it cannot but be worth any Protestant's while to set all those Deeds in a true Light; which I shall here endeavour to do with great Fidelity, and all the Exactness that I can.



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Now the two Facts of *Constantine's* having had the *Leprosie*, and of his having been cured of it, by *being baptized in Rome*, being the two Pillars all the abovementioned Evidences do stand upon ; if those two Facts are both proved to be false, and altogether groundless, as I think they may, beyond any reasonable Contradiction, those Evidences must all tumble down, and appear gross Forgeries, devised for the Use of the *Roman* See, some Hundreds of Years after that Emperor's Death.

*Constantine* the Great's Life was, within three Years after his Death, writ and published by the learned *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Cesarea* ; in which Life, as there is not one Syllable of that Emperor's ever having had the *Leprosie*, so there is in it a solemn Account of that Emperor's having, a little before his Death, been baptized in *Nicomedia*, a City in *Asia*. This Account of *Constantine's* Baptism in *Asia* just before his Death, which did not happen until thirteen Years after he is by *Silvester's* Acts said to have been baptized in *Rome*, did, like other true Histories, pass current thro' divers succeeding Ages ; and as there was Occasion, was related by all the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers, without any Scruple or Hesitation about it. To begin with the *Greeks*,

*Theodoret*, who was born within fifty Years of *Constantine's* Time, speaking of that Emperor, says, he was baptized a little before the End of his Days in the City of *Nicomedia*. *Sozomen*, another *Greek*, who lived within an  
hundred



hundred Years of *Constantine's* Time saith the same, as do all the other *Greek* Historians, that say any Thing of that Emperor's Baptism. It is the same with all the *Latin* Writers, that speak of it in four hundred Years after *Constantine's* Death. So the numerous Council of *Arminum* having Occasion to speak of *Constantine*, in a Letter to his Son *Constantius*, they say he was baptized a little before his Death. Now this Council having met within twenty Years after *Constantine's* Time, there might be many present at it that did remember the Time when he was baptized, as to be sure his Son *Constantius* did, to whom that Letter was directed. *St. Hierome*, who was eight Years old when *Constantine* died, speaking of that Emperor in his *Chronicon*, says, *He was baptized in Nicomedia, a little before his Death, by Eusebius, Bishop of that City.* *St. Ambrose*, who was likewise born in *Constantine's* Reign, in his Funeral Oration upon the Emperor *Theodosius*, says, that Emperor was baptized a little before he died. And so great a Stranger was the *Spanish* Church, in the seventh Century, to the Story of *Constantine's* having been baptized in *Rome*, that *Isidore*, Archbishop of *Sevil*, who flourished in that Century, speaking of that Emperor in his *Chronicon*, says, he was baptized a little before his Death in *Nicomedia*, by *Eusebius*, Bishop of that City. What a Cloud of Witnessess is here for *Constantine's* have been baptized a little Time before he died, in *Asia*,

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in the City of *Nicomedia*. The first Writer that I know of, that says any thing of *Constantine's* having been baptized in *Rome*, is *Anastafius Bibliothecarius*, who was born near five hundred Years after *Constantine's* Time, and about a hundred Years after *Silvester's* Acts and their Appendixes were forged, out of which he might probably have that News.

Nor is the Story of *Constantine's Leprosie*, and of his being baptized in *Rome* by Pope *Silvester*, thirteen Years before his Death, more groundless than is the Story in the same Acts, of *Constantine's* having, the Year before he had called the Council of *Nice*, and several Years after he had profess'd himself a Christian, rais'd so cruel a Persecution against the Christian Faith, that *Silvester* and his Clergy were, by the Fury of it, driven into the Caverns of the Mount *Soracte*: For besides the natural Incredibility that there is in this Story, there is no Writer, either *Greek* or *Latin*, in some hundreds of Years after *Constantine's* Death, that has one Word of that Persecution, or of any thing that is like it. On the contrary, they do all say that *Constantine*, from the first Day he declared himself a Friend to the Christian Faith, which he had done several Years before the Time when this Persecution is said to have been, did go on in that Friendship for it, without any Interruption, to the End of his Days: Neither does *Silvester's* and his Clergy's having been chased

chased by the Fury of this Persecution into the Caverns of the Mount *Soracte*, which is a part of this Story, give it much Credit : And if there was any such Persecution as this, the Antients were all out in the Number of the Christian Persecutions, which they reckon to have been but *ten*, whereas this Story makes them to have been *eleven*. But not to mention any more such Particulars, in a Story which is from Head to Tail one great Blunder, can any thing be more incredible, or more ridiculous than that *Constantine*, after he had been for several Years a professed Christian, should ask *Silvester* very solemnly, *What Gods Saint Peter and Saint Paul were ?* Or than *Silvester's* having the Pictures of those two Apostles so ready at hand, to shew to that Emperor, when he asked him whether he had them, or not ?

The Donations in *Silvester's* Acts, that are said to have been made by *Constantine* to the *Font* in which he was baptized, and to the *Churches* that he built in *Rome* at that Time, are such a Jargon, that they that can believe them to be genuine, must, I think, have got the convenient Faculty of believing whatever they have a Mind to believe.

*Constantine's* grand Donation of the whole *Western Empire* to Pope *Silvester*, and his Successors, is indeed more intelligible ; but all that it gets by being so is, that its being a Forgery is more palpable. *First*, The whole Stile of that Instrument is exactly the same



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with that of *Silvester's Acts*, and of the *Decretal Epistles*, and with that of Pope *Nicholas's Letters*, which was by the Emperor *Michael* deservedly call'd Barbarous and *Scythick*; for tho' 'tis true that in *Constantine's Days* the *Latin* in *Rome* was not *Classical*, yet it was far from the *Scythick Barbarities*, which spread themselves over all that *Donation*. *Secondly*, In that *Donation* a *Supremacy* is granted to the Bishops of *Rome* over four *Patriarchs*: Now is it not well known that in *Constantine's Time*, and in some Years after it, *Patriarch* was a Title not known in the *Christian Church*? *Thirdly*, The *Patriarch of Constantinople* is one of those *Patriarchs*: Now can any Thing be more certain than that the *Foundations* of the City of *Constantinople* were not laid, until some Years after that *Donation* is said to have been made? *Fourthly*, This great *Donation* is never once mentioned by any *Writer*, *Greek* or *Latin*, in four hundred Years after *Constantine's Death*, no not by any of the *Popes* that writ during that *Time*, and some of them so zealously too for the *Advancement* of their *See*, that had they ever heard of it, they would not have fail'd to proclaim it to the *World*. *Fifthly*, After the *Time* that this *Donation* is said to have been made, the *Emperors* continued *Lords of Rome*, and did exercise all the same *Authority* in it, as their *Predecessors* had done before; and so far was any *Bishop of Rome*, in several hundreds of Years after *Constantine's Time*, from complain-

ing



ing of this as an Injury done to the *Roman* See, that they did one and all acknowledge the Emperors to be their Lords and lawful Sovereigns. The Date, and several Words and Passages that are in that Donation, might be produced here as clear Evidences, that it could not be writ in or near *Constantine's* Time, but to what Purpose would it be to multiply Evidences, where there is no need of them.

The Canons of the Council, that is said to have been called in *Rome* by Pope *Silvester*, being all extant, we need go no farther than those Canons for plain Evidences of the whole History of that Council's being a spurious Writing: For besides that their whole Stile is barbarous and *Scythick*, divers Things are mentioned in them, such as the Cardinal Deacons of *Rome*, and the seven Regions of those Cardinal Deacons in that City, a *Dalmatian* Cope, not heard of in *Silvester's* Days, nor in many Years after: And had this Council's last Canon, which constitutes the Bishop of *Rome* an *unaccountable Judge*, been made in that Pope's Time, *Leo*, *Zozimus*, *Gregory*, and some others of his Successors, who left no Stone unturn'd to advance the Authority of their See, would have made the World to have rung with it, and its strange *Latin*, which is an Original of the *Scythick* of the eighth Century.

Since no Pope that I know of has made any Use of the Story of the hideous Serpent, which  
after

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after it had been long worshiped by all the *Romans*, and fed by the *Vestal* Virgins, was imprisoned by Pope *Silvester* until the Day of Judgment in its own Cave, and within its own brazen Gates, I shall not trouble myself to muster up Evidences to prove it to be a Fable: Neither would it, tho' the Popes had made never so much Use of that Story, been to any Purpose to do it; since on all that can believe such Tales (as *Baronius* for his part professes he does) Arguments, let them be never so strong, are but thrown away; and how can it be otherwise, since no Arguments can possibly expose their Incredibility so clearly as such Tales themselves do, having no Colour of Truth in them, besides that faint Colour that a Thing's not being absolutely impossible can give it?

The Reader of this great Cluster of gross Forgeries understanding, that as bad as the Cause is, it is not without skilful Advocates to defend it, may perhaps be willing to see what can possibly be offered in its Defence: I shall therefore, to gratifie so laudable a Curiosity, here honestly lay before him all that is offered by *Baronius*, the most skilful and most zealous of all the Papal Advocates.

That Cardinal begins that defence with trimming up a *Relation* of *Silvester's* Acts to the best Advantage; but tho' that Relation is very short, he found it necessary before he got to the end of it, to break its Thread three or four times, to sweep some scurvy Rubs that  
are

are in it out of this Reader's way ; and being at last apprehensive, that his Reader's Faith, was not able to keep pace with him any longer, he turns about to him, and says, *Sed siste hic gradum Lector, quod te videam subcunctantem sequi.* But stand still here Reader, for I can perceive, that you begin to grow weary of following me. And it is very observable, that that Assurance which carried this Advocate boldly thro' so many bad Causes, seems plainly to have failed him in this. However, having undertaken the Defence of *Silvester's* Acts, he goes on with it as well as he is able, and produces all the Evidences he could scrape together, to prove them to be genuine. The first Evidence that he produceth, is, the Authority of the abovementioned Council, called in *Rome* by Pope *Silvester*, in which the Substance of those Acts is set down. The second is Pope *Gelasius's* having in his Decree approved of *Silvester's* Acts.

As to his first Evidence, it is proved above, that that Council is as plainly spurious as *Silvester's* Acts themselves are ; there being all the same Evidences of its having been forged many hundreds of Years after *Silvester* was in his Grave. And as to his other Evidence, that Decree, if it were Pope *Gelasius's*, was made above an hundred and fifty Years after *Silvester's* Death ; but so far is it from being certain, that that Decree was made by *Gelasius*, under whose Name it has passed so long, that it has in its own Bosom many clear Proofs  
of



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of its not having been made by him : And as that Decree is no where mentioned by any Writer, within three hundred Years after *Gelasius*, so its being first mentioned about the time when the Decretal Epistles were forged, makes it to be more than probable that it was forged about the same time.

What poor Evidences are these *Baronius* begins his Defence of *Silvester's* Acts with ? But there is something that is yet worse, which is, that he ends it with them too, so that the Reader that will not upon them, be so courteous as to believe *Silvester's* Acts to be genuine, must e'en let it alone, for their ablest Advocate can help them to no more Proofs. Thus the Forgeries of the *Roman* Church in this, and twenty more Cases did beget Forgeries ; the latter being trump't up to help the former, if it be possible, to some Credit.

*Baronius* makes strange Work with *Constantine's* Donation ; for notwithstanding he is positive, that *Constantine* bestowed great Territories upon the *Roman* See ; yet being much displeased with a certain Passage in the Instrument of that Donation, he will have it all to be a false Deed, and to have been counterfeit'd by the Greeks, out of malice to that See, on purpose to undermine its Supremacy : And he is so positive in this, that he insults Protestants upon it, and tells them, that by proving the Instrument, called *Constantine's* Donation, a spurious Writing, they are so far from hurting the *Roman* See, that they do it  
the



the greatest Service that can be done it. This is great News indeed, and all that I shall say to it, is, that there was no Pope nor Canonist thro' many Ages that thought it to be so; and that if to detect the Forgeries of the *Roman Church* be so great a Service to her, may Protestants always serve her diligently and faithfully in that Work: But to be serious, if these Jest of *Baronius's* will allow it.

Was there ever a turn given to any thing so surprizing as this? To have an Instrument that is at length, and with the very Passage in it, that *Baronius* is so much displeased with, in a Letter writ by Pope *Leo IX.* seven hundred Years ago, to a *Greek Emperor*; and which is likewise at length, with that Passage still in it, in *Ivo, Gratian*, and many more *Roman Canonists*, and that has been thro' so many Ages made use of by Popes, Cardinals and Canonists, with great Success, to help the *Roman See* to all its Territories, to come at last, to be by the chief Papal Advocate, arraigned of being a false Deed, counterfeited by the Enemies of that See, with a very malicious Intention: Had any *Roman Cardinal* said as much in the time of *Leo IX's* Pontificate, who took so much canting Pains to demonstrate this Writing to be an authentick Instrument, he would certainly have felt the Thunder of the *Vatican*.

The Passage in that Instrument *Baronius* is so angry with is that, where it is said, *That a Supremacy over all other Bishops*  
was

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*was by the Emperor Constantine bestowed on the Bishop of Rome ; which, saith Baronius, is to take the Roman Supremacy off its divine Bottom, and to place it on a humane, and to make it the Gift of Man to that See, and not the Gift of God, which is the Thing the Greeks would fain have believed. But whatever the Greeks may believe to be the Foundation of the Papal Supremacy, there is no Colour for suspecting them of having had any Hand in the forging of the Instrument of Constantine's Donation, or having foisted that Passage into it, that is so odious to Baronius ; since that Passage is in all the Copies of that Instrument that are extant in the Writings of the Popes and of their Canonists ; and that without ever having given the least Offence to any of them, however it comes to pass that it gives so much to Baronius, who cannot, only upon the Account of that Passage in it, condemn that Instrument as a Forgery, without condemning all those Popes and Canonists, by whom that Instrument, with that Passage in it, was revered as the *Palladium* of the *Roman* See. Furthermore, the whole Stile of that Instrument is so Barbarous and *Scythick*, and the great Thing it aims at is so notorious, that they do proclaim it not to be of an *Eastern*, but of a true *Western* Manufacture, after the Time of the sixth Century. And never was any Malice so defeated as was this of the *Greeks*, if there ever was any such Malice ; the Instrument that is said to have been*

malici-

maliciously forged by them to undermine the Authority of the *Roman* See, having been in Fact the great Instrument of raising and establishing its Authority.

It is indeed hard to think that a Man of *Baronius's* Learning and Penetration could possibly have been in earnest, when he lays the Forging of the instrument of *Constantine's* Donation at the *Greeks* Door; or when he professeth that that he believes the Story of *Silvester's* imprisoned Serpent: But however that may be, I shall leave it to the Judicious to determine, whether that Cardinal's owning the Instrument of *Constantine's* Donation to be a Counterfeit Deed, is not a greater Service to the Protestant Church, than Protestants proving it to be so, is to the *Roman*.

The *Decretal Epistles*, to whose Help the Supremacy of the *Roman* See is more beholden than it is to all other Writings whatsoever, are likewise ungratefully given up by this great Papal Advocate as forged Deeds; and are by him likewise very unjustly denied the Honour of having done the *Roman* See signal Services; and it is very much, after his Hand was in, that the Forging of those Epistles were not laid by him at the *Greeks* Door, as well as the Forging of the Instrument of *Constantine's* Donation; since if This was, They were forged by them too, the whole Thread and Fashion being the same so much in both, that none that have any Skill in such Stuff, can help seeing that they were spun and wove,  
if



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if not by the same Hand, yet much about the same Time, and in the same Country. Now as I have elsewhere observed, that were all the Wars, Massacres, Assassinations, and publick Confusions, that have ever been in the World merely upon the Account of Religion, put together, they would not make the hundredth Part of the Wars, &c. for Religion, which have been rais'd by the Papacy in the Space of six hundred Years; so, I my say, were all the publick Forgeries that have ever been in the World brought together, they would bear as great a Disproportion to the Forgeries which have been made Use of by the *Roman See* to advance its own Authority; many of which are so gross, that the ablest Papal Advocates, since the Time that Learning unluckily shined in upon them, have, we see, been forced to acknowledge them to be counterfeited Deeds, judging that to be more for the Honour of the *Roman See*, than to go on without either Fear or Wit, maintaining them to be genuine; and what it should be that engaged *Baronius*, after he had upon that single Consideration yielded up the Decretal Epistles and *Constantine's* Donation as forged Deeds, still to stick by *Silvester's* Acts, and that Pope's Council in *Rome*, as Genuine, when their Spuriousness is no less notorious, cannot be easily guess'd: Only in general we are certain that it was his judging the doing of both to be for the Service of the *Roman See*; for there was never any Historian that had not one Thing  
come



and its Interest in his Eye so constantly, as *Baronius* has the Papacy and its Concerns continually in his, to the sacrificing both of Truth, and of his own exact Judgment, whenever he thinks the doing of it to be necessary for their Service ; and as, if it had not been for that unhappy strong Byass, he would have been one of the finest Writers of History that any Age has produced, so, with that strong Byass, he is one of the worst ; there being no History, that I know of, so full of well woven Falshood, and of artful Misrepresentations of Persons and Things, as his Annals are : And considering how much Mischief those well written Annals have done, it is great Pity that the Work that was begun by the learned *Cassaubon*, were not carried on by Protestants that have Abilities, Leisure, and Conveniencies for it.

I shall conclude this Display with observing with how much ease *Baronius*, and the other Papal Advocates, do sacrifice the Honour and Interest of our common Christianity to the Interests of the *Roman* See, who, notwithstanding they do make King *Henry VIII's* Vices so great a Dishonour to the Reformation that was begun by him, as to be alone sufficient to prejudice all People against it eternally ; yet don't only agree with the Heathens in representing *Constantine* as another *Nero*, for having imbrued his Hands so deep in the innocent Blood of his nearest Relations ; but they do

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50 *The Grand Forgery display'd.*

stickle so fiercely in the Maintenance of the Truth of that abominable Story, that they revile the ancient Christians that denied it: So *Eusebius*, for not having charged *Constantine* with those unnatural Crimes in his Life of that Emperor, is, by *Baronius* charg'd with unpardonable Partiality; and that Life is said by him to be a Romance, like *Xenophon's* Life of *Cyrus*; and *Sozomen*, who lived within an hundred Years of *Constantine*, is, for his having vindicated that Emperor against that Calumny, which he saith was thrown upon his Memory by the enraged Heathens, by *Baronius* accused of a Stupidity that is incredible, and cannot be wondred at enough. And *Evagrius*, who lived within three hundred Years of that Emperor, is, for being angry with the Heathen Historian *Zozimus*, for reporting that abominable Story, wondred at by that Cardinal, and is told very gravely, that he had no Reason to be angry with *Zozimus* for having reported that of *Constantine*, for it was certainly true.

Now whether this Story be true, or not, (tho' I am inclined to believe it is not, but was a mere Calumny thrown upon that Emperor, sometime after his Death, by the Heathens, who were to the last Degree enraged against his Memory for having forsaken their Worship, and established the Christian,) yet why all this Heat in the Papal Advocates to defend the Truth of that scandalous Story, so as to  
abuse

abuse all that have ever called its Truth in Question? None that know the Men can suspect that this Heat is raised in them, contrary to their Inclinations, purely out of any Love that they have for Truth; for it is so far from that, that it is visibly the Effect of their great Zeal for *Silvester's* Acts and their Appendixes, which, were it not for this Story, would not seem to have any Ground to stand upon; to help them therefore to some Credit, if it be possible, this scandalous Story is with great Heat maintained by them; tho' after all those Writings have in them so many plain Marks of their being spurious, that neither this, nor any thing else that can be done for them, will ever be able to render them credible. This is not the only Case wherein Christianity is sacrificed by those Men to the Honour of the Papacy; for Example, To help the vain Pretence of the Papal Infallibility to some Ground to stand upon, if it were possible, they will have the High Priest among the *Jews* to have been infallible in Matters of Religion, tho' at the same Time they know very well, that one of the High Priest's Decrees was, *That whoever should say, that Jesus was the Christ or the Messiah should be excommunicated, and thrown out of the Synagogue.* And to do Oral Tradition some Honour, they deny that the Ever-blessed Trinity is clearly revealed in the Holy Scriptures, not to mention any more: Besides the impious Compar-

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rifons, which they commonly make in Point of Certainty betwixt their own ridiculous and false Miracles, and the Miracles which were wrought by Christ and his Apostles, to the wounding of Christianity in its very Vitals, and the arraiging the Holy Scriptures of Imperfection, Obscurity and Ambiguity, in Matters necessary to Salvation, because niether the Bishop of Rome, nor any Popish Doctrines are mentioned in them.

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*F I N I S.*

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A N  
E S S A Y  
On the R O M A N  
PONTIFICATE,  
*Heathen and Papal;*

S H E W I N G  
The P A P A L with all its Prehemi-  
nences to have sprung from the  
H E A T H E N.

A N D  
That both of them do owe their Pri-  
macy solely to the Civil Primacy of  
the City of R O M E.

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By MICHAEL GEDDES, L. L. D.  
And Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

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*Ante Nicænum Consilium sibi quisque vivebat:  
Et ad Romanam Ecclesiam parvus habebatur respectus.*  
Æneas Sylvius, postea Pius II. Epistola 288.

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## THE INTRODUCTION.

**T**HAT the Bishop of Rome's being in Possession of a Supremacy over a great Part of the Christian Church, may no longer be vapoured with as a Demonstration, and to shew the Weakness of the Argument, that that high Authority must needs have been the immediate Gift of God to that Bishop; since, if it had not, He, no more than any other Bishop, (say the Papal Champions) would ever have dreamt of putting in a Claim to that Privilege: I shall here, without going up to Heaven for a Grant of it, find an Origin for that Supremacy upon the Earth, and which was peculiar to the City of Rome, to wit, the high Preeminences of the Heathen Roman Pontificate; having first given the Reader a short View of the whole Priesthood of Rome Heathen, on Purpose to let him see, from the Follies and Dotages which were in the Worship of the wisest Nation in the World, how necessary the Revelation of God's Will to Men was, to their Worshipping him, as became God, and themselves.



A N  
E S S A Y  
O N T H E  
*Roman Pontificate,*  
HEATHEN and PAPAL, &c.



IT is a known Truth that no City nor Society can be rightly modelled, that has not Religion, or a Fear of God for its Foundation; nor no Religion can subsist long, which has not an Order of Men set apart, and dedicated to minister in Things Sacred; the City of Rome therefore, when it was first built, had both those necessary Supports to that Degree, that *Dyonisius Halicarnessensis* observes, *That no new City was ever furnished with so many*  
Priests

Priests and Sacrificers, as the City of *Rome* was by *Romulus*, its Founder ; who, besides the Priests they had before, called *Luperci*, and who were not extinguished in *Italy* until after the five hundredth Year of our Lord, did create sixty new publick Priests, who were all to be chosen by the City Tribes or Companies. It was ordained by *Romulus*, that none were to be admitted Priests under fifty Years of Age, and that they should be all Men of good Sense, without any Blemish upon their Bodies, and eminent both for their Birth and Virtues ; and being exempted by *Romulus* from being Soldiers, and from all burdensome City Offices, they were to continue Priests to the End of their Days.

There were three Augurs likewise instituted by *Romulus*, who did himself all his Days officiate as an Augur. The Augurs were a College, and had a fourth added to them by *Tullius* the sixth King of *Rome*, when the City was divided by him into four Tribes. The Augurs had their Name from their foreknowing the Events of Things of a contingent Nature from the Flying, Singing, Chirping, and the other Motions of Birds ; and besides Birds they had divers other such Oracles, from whose Motions and Circumstances they learned that abstruse Knowledge, which, had not Superstition been very ingenious, none could ever have expected from them. The Augurs continued to be but four, and were all to be of *Patrician* Families, until the Year 403 after the  
the



the Building of the City, when the People being grown too high to be by their Condition or Quality rendered incapable of any Office, their Tribunes never rested until they had five Augurs more created, who were to be Plebeians : The Augurs continued nine till the Days of *Sylla*, by whom six more were added to their College, of which the oldest Augur was always of course the Master ; and when an Augur died, the whole College chose a new one in his Room. The Election of their own Members continued in the Augurs until the Year 651 after the building of the City, when that Privilege was violently taken from them, and given to the People : From whom it was afterwards taken by *Sylla*, and restored to the Augurs ; but was at last by *Cæsar* taken from them, and given to the People again. An Augur was not to be deprived of his Office, but with his Life ; not that the *Romans* judged their Character to be indelible, but because they thought it not safe for the Commonwealth, that any who had been once admitted into the Secret of the Augurs, should ever be released from the Obligation they were under, by Vertue of their Office, not to divulge that Secret : It was upon the Account of this Secret, that one said, *He wondred how the Augurs, when they met, could forbear smiling one upon another.*

The *Pullarii* do seem to have been a lower Order of Augurs, and were more in Number than their Superiors : I think we are not told  
by

by whom they were instituted; but their Business, from which they had their Name, was to observe the Pullets, from whose Behaviour at their Breakfast, they had the certain Knowledge of future Events. The *Pullarius*, when he was call'd upon to foretel the Event of a Battle, or any other considerable Action, did, as soon as it was Day, scatter Pulse before the Door of the Place where his Pullets had roosted all Night, commanding a strict Silence at the same Time: if the Pullets made no Haste down to their Meat, or did not eat when they came to it, or did either wander or fly from it, the *Romans* were by the *Pullarius* forbid to fight upon that Day; assuring them that if they did, they would as certainly be beat as it was certain that his Pullets had refused their Breakfast; But in case his Pullets made haste down, and did fall greedily upon their Pulse; and above all, if they eat so fast, that some Grains of it fell from their Mouths, the *Pullarius* did then sing a Triumph for the Victory which the *Romans*, if they fought upon that Day, were sure to have. The Falling of some Grains of the Pulse out of the Pullets Mouths upon the Ground was called a *Tripudium*, and was so lucky an Omen, that the Reason why the Pullets had always Pulse scattered before them, for their divining Breakfast, was, because there was no other Grain, if it was eaten greedily, so apt, as Pulse was, to fall from their Mouths.

No Roman Army did ever march any where  
without

without its *Pullarius* ; and that the sacred Person of so necessary an Officer might be expos'd to as little Danger as it was possible, his Station was always in the middle of the Camp. Now, considering the Nature of these Predictions, and how subject they must needs have been to Mistakes, one would not think that they could have long been depended on as Oracles ; neither indeed could they, if whenever they proved to be false, one Trick or other had not been made Use of to secure the Credit of their Infallibility : The Trick was, that whenever the *Romans* lost a Battle, it was presently given out, that either the *Pullarius* had not made a true Report of the Behaviour of his Pullets at their divining Breakfast, or that the Generals had fought in Contradiction to his Predictions. So when the *Romans* were beat by the *Samnites*, it was said the *Pullarius* had made a false Report of his Pullets Behaviour at their Breakfast that Morning, (at which Time, saith *Livy*, the Doctrine of contemning the Gods was not yet known,) and that for his Punishment he had been slain in the Battle : And upon the *Romans* great Loss in the Battle of *Thrasumenum*, it was spread abroad, that *Flaminius* had fought upon that Day, not only in Contradiction, but in Contempt of his *Pullarius* ; for having asked the *Pullarius*, when he was told by him that his Pullets would not touch their Breakfast that Morning, *Whether the Romans were never to fight, but when his Pullets would eat ?* The

Pul-



*Pullarius* answered very gravely, *That they were not*; *Flaminius* replied scoffingly, *Auguries are rare Things, if the Romans must never fight, but when your Pullets are hungry.* The Loss of a great Battle at Sea in the first *Punic War*, was likewise imputed to *Claudius* the Admirals having fought upon that Day, in Contradiction to the Report of the *Pullarius*; having commanded the *Pullarius*, when he told him that his Pullets would not eat their Breakfast that Morning, *to throw his Pullets into the Sea, to try whether they would drink, or not*: By such Stories as these the Credit of the Infallibility of the Predictions of the *Pullarii* was supported.

There was another Book, wherein the future Events of Things contingent were as legible as in any of the forementioned, into which neither the Augurs nor the *Pullarii* were suffer'd to look: It was the Entrails, &c. of the Beasts that were killed for Sacrifices: For this Service only an Order of Men was instituted by *Romulus*, who were called *Aruspices*; at first they were all *Hetrusci*, whose Country *Hetruria* was for many Ages the great Academy of that cheating Science; their Work was much more laborious than that of the *Pullarii*; for they were first to observe all the Motions of the Beasts when they were brought to be sacrificed; and after the Beasts were killed, they were to look narrowly into the Quantity, and all the Qualities of their Blood, and when the Beasts were opened they were



to observe whether any of their Vital Parts were wanting ; but above all they were to inspect the Entrails, in which the future Events of Things were reckoned to be more legible than they were any where else. The Reputation of the Infallibility of all these Soothsayers was supported by the same Accidents and Arts with that of the other Oracles, to wit, by their happening sometimes to guess right, by false Stories of ancient Predictions, by Ænigmatical and ambiguous Answers, capable of being interpreted to contrary Purposes ; and when they were visibly false, by laying the Blame on any Thing rather than on the Cheat and Fallibility of their boasted Knowledge of Things to come.

There were thirty Priests more created by *Romulus*, who were called the *Curiones*, from the thirty *Curia*, to which they were Chaplains ; they were all chosen by their several *Curia* ; their President was stiled *Curio maximus*, their Services *Curionatæ*, and their Salaries *Curionatus*.

The *Flamines*, called so from the Caps they wore, which were the same with the Caps now wore by their Successors the *Roman Cardinals*, were created by *Numa*, the second King of *Rome*, to perform most of the Divine Offices which the King had performed before : At first the *Flamines* were but three, but they came afterwards to be twelve, and at last fifteen ; they were no College, every *Flamen* being consecrated to the Service of one particular

cular God ; the *Flamen Dialis* to *Jupiter*, the *Flamen Martialis* to *Mars*, and the *Flamen Quirinalis* to *Romulus* ; they were chosen by the People, but were consecrated by the *Pontifex Maximus*, to whom the *Flamen Dialis* was not much inferior in Dignity : His Robes, as well as his Cap, were very rich ; neither did he ever stir out of Doors, but in a sumptuous Coach, with a *Lictor* attending him ; and to beget and preserve a great Veneration for that Officer, he was on no Occasion to take any Oath ; neither was his Hair ever to be cut by any Barber that was not a Freeman ; and that the Parings of his sacred Nails might never be put to any sordid Use, they were always to be buried carefully at the Root of a Tree : But there having been some Divine Offices, which had always been performed by the Kings, whilst *Rome* had any ; after the Expulsion of Kings, a Priest was ordained to perform those Offices, with the Title of the *King of Sacreds*, or the *Royal Priest* ; and that the Title of *King* might not seem still to carry in it the supream Authority, to the endangering of the Liberties of the Commonwealth, the *King of Sacreds* was made inferior to the *Pontifex Maximus*.

The *Salii*, who had their Name from their Dancing much in their Offices, were likewise instituted by *Numa*, to attend in the Palace at the Service of *Mars*, to render that God the more propitious to the *Romans* ; they were twelve in Number and a College, and did officiate

ficiate in a military Habit ; their Head was called *Magister*, or *Præsul Saliorum*.

The *Feciales*, who were the Judges of the Justice of Leagues and War, were instituted by *Numa* ; they were twelve in Number ; and had their Authority in their Province been uncontrollable, they must in a Manner have been the Masters of the Government ; but in truth they as well as the *Augurs*, *Pullarii*, &c. had only the Name of a supreme Direction.

The *Pontifices*, who were an Order superior to all other Priests were likewise instituted by *Numa* ; and one of them having been constituted the Head of all the rest ; he was stil'd *Pontifex Maximus*, and with so great Power and Authority, that he was the supreme Judge of all Matters in Religion, and of all Things else that had any Relation to them ; neither the Senate nor the People could call him to an Account for any thing that he did ; for which Reason he was by *Festus* called, *Judex atque Arbiter rerum divinarum atq; humanarum* ; and on the Account of his direct supreme Power over all Religious Affairs, and his indirect supreme Power over all other Matters, in order to them, he with his College is said by *Cicero*, *To preside, not only over the Religion of the Immortal Gods, but also over the whole Commonwealth*. The Number of the *Pontifices* was the same with that of the *Augurs*, and for the same Reasons raised from four to nine, and from nine to fifteen ; but the first four who were always *Patricians*, were of a higher Degree than the eleven



ven who were added to them, who might all be *Plebeians*.

The *Pontifex Maximus* was always chosen out of the Pontifical College by the *Curia* of the People, until the Commonwealth was changed into a Monarchy, when the Emperors, for the greater Security of their Persons and Government, did take that Office to themselves, and with it the Nomination of all the *Pontifices*, *Flamines*, &c.

*Zozimus*, for having said that the Title of *Pontifex Maximus* was held by all the Christian Emperors until *Gratian*, was by *Baronius*, and other Papal Champions, who resented it as an Affront put upon the Bishop of *Rome*, called a malicious lying Heathen. But to the eternal Confusion of all partial and railing Confidences, what *Zozimus* had said, was afterwards found to be true beyond all Contradiction; that Title having been found in the Inscriptions of the Coins of those Christian Emperors; which having been shewed to *Baronius*, he was forced to confess that he had done wrong to that Heathen: But there was another Title, which was stranger, that was bore longer by the Christian Emperors; it was that of *Divus*, which appears in the Coins of the Christian Emperors, until *Placidius Valentinianus*: So backward are Princes or their Parasites to part with any Thing that raiseth their Honour or Authority, tho' the retaining of it may not be very consistent with the Religion they profess.

There



There was another odd Thing of the same Nature, done by the Christian Emperors *Valens*, *Gratian*, and *Valentinus*; it was the erecting of one Statue in *Rome*, and another in *Constantinople*, with a glorious Heathen Inscription upon them to the Honour of *Symmachus*, who not only lived and died a professed Heathen, but was all his Days the Champion of that Religion against Christianity.

But tho' the Title of *Pontifex Maximus* was held by all the Christian Emperors until *Gratian*, and by *Gratian* himself for some Years; the Exercise of that Office was by them committed to the Prefects of the City, with the Title of *Pontifex Major*, as appears from the fore-mentioned Inscription, in which *Symmachus*, who was Prefect of the City is so stil'd; and who, during the Time that the Emperors bore that Title, were for that Reason always Heathens, to the great Encouragement of that Religion, which thereby was still fed with Hopes of being restored again to its former Authority and Splendor: And therefore *Gratian's* having laid down the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, and abolish'd the Office, was by the Heathens looked on as a greater Blow to their Religion than any that had ever been given it before: The Lands and Revenues, which belonged to the *Pontifices*, *Flamines*, &c. having likewise been taken from them about the same Time, and all the publick Idols and Images in the City pull'd down and demolished by *Grachus* the Prætor, the Heathens were so disturbed, that the Senate,

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faith

saith *Symmachus*, the Heathen Part of it only, saith Saint *Ambrose*, ( which was not a Majority ) did complain to the Emperor *Gratian* of the great Injuries and Indignities which had been put on the ancient *Roman* Gods, by whose Favour and Assistance *Rome* had been raised to be the Mistress of the World: And a very great Pestilence and Famine having happened at the same Time, it was by the Heathens proclaimed to be a Plague from Heaven upon the *Romans*, for having suffered the Gods of their Forefathers to be dishonoured, their Images broken, and their Priests and Virgins robbed of all their Lands and Revenues by sacrilegious and avaritious Hands. On this Occasion I cannot but observe, how the *Christians* who extirpated Idolatry, and the *Motives* that prevailed with them to set about so glorious a Work, were by the Heathens misrepresented in the same Manner that the Protestant *Reformers* were by the *Papists* for a Work of the same Nature. So *Eunapius*, an Heathen Orator, who lived at the Time of that great Revolution, speaking of the *Christians*, saith of them, *These extraordinary and valiant Men, having hurled all Things into Confusion, glory that they have overcome the Gods, with Hands indeed unbloody, but not undefiled with Covetousness; accounting their Sacrilege, and other impious Crimes Matter of Praise, &c.*

And that great Pestilence and Famine which raged in *Rome* at this Time, were by *Symmachus*, the Prefect of the City, attributed to the  
Sacrilege

Sacrilege of those who had seized on all the Revenues of the Priests and Vestal Virgins, and employed them to profane Uses.

But tho' a full Answer to all those Complaints and Calumnies was published by Saint *Ambrose*, Bishop of *Milan*; yet the Heathens having received no satisfactory Answer to them from *Gratian*, conspired together to lay him aside, and to raise *Maximus* to the Imperial Dignity; who, tho' he was a Christian, yet was not so fierce as *Gratian* to extirpate Heathenism; on which Occasion it was a common Saying among them, that since *Gratian* would not be *Pontifex Maximus*, that *Maximus* must be *Pontifex*; and accordingly he was soon after proclaimed Emperor in *Britain*, to the great Joy of the Heathens in *Rome*, who expected from him the Establishment of their Worship, if he were by their Assistance supported in that Dignity: But they soon found themselves disappointed; for tho' *Gratian* was murdered as he was going against *Maximus*, yet *Maximus* having been in a short Time after vanquished by *Theodosius*, (as *Eugenius* was also from whom the Heathens had promised themselves the Restauration of their Worship) the Heathen Religion in *Rome* received its Death's Wound, being never after able to hold up its Head in *Rome* any more, until it was in a good Measure restored in her by the Idolatry of *Pope-ry*; tho' the Heathens, to keep Life in their Religion, if it had been possible, did at that Time set about a Story of an Oracle's having



been positive that the Christian Religion would be at an End in less than twelve Years; such Prophecies being commonly the last Cordials that are administered to languishing Governments and Religions, by their desponding Friends, and sometimes not without Success.

Thus fell the *Heathen* Pontificate of *Rome*, after it had stood and flourished above a thousand Years; and out of its Ruins the *Papal* in that City did visibly arise; whose Pretences to a Supremacy in the Christian Religion do owe their Birth to that single Thought, of its being reasonable, that among Christians, the Bishop of *Rome*, for being Bishop of that Imperial *Metropolis*, ought to enjoy as great Priviledges and Preheminences as were enjoyed by the *Pontifex Maximus* of that City, whilst it was Heathen: That Thought was so naturally obvious, that nothing could have kept it out of the Bishops of *Rome's* Heads, but an extraordinary Humility and Self-denial in them, as to all the Pumps and Glories of this World; Graces which were soon out of Fashion in *Rome* Christian.

I will not say that the proud City of *Rome* did not, as soon as Christians were become numerous in her, inspire her Bishops with something of the Thought of its being reasonable, that on her Account, they should be to Christians, what her *Pontifex Maximus* was to the Heathens. *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*, who flourished about the Beginning of the third Century, having made a peremptory Decree about  
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the Time of keeping *Easter*, was Ironically call'd *Pontifex Maximus* by *Tertullian*; which plainly intimates that *Victor* had acted imperiously, as if for being Bishop of *Rome*, he thought he ought to be *Pontifex Maximus* of the Christian Religion : And indeed in *Victor's* Carriage in the hot Contest about the Time when *Easter* was to be observed, there appears something of an Air of that aspiring Thought : But however it lay in the Heads of the Bishops of *Rome* before the time of the Emperor *Constantine's* Conversion to Christianity, it did never blaze out before that great *Revolution* : And whereas it was near sixty Years after the Emperors were Christians before the Heathen Pontificate was abolished by them ; so during that Time the Bishop and Clergy of *Rome*, by the Hopes they had entertained of seeing that done quickly, were prepared to receive, if not to snatch to themselves, all the Priviledges and Honours that had appertained to it. For if *St. Hierome*, and *St. Paulinus*, the two most pious and most learned Christians of that Age in *Italy*, may be believed ; Pride, Ambition, Envy, Avarice, and Luxury, at the Time when the Heathen Pontificate was dissolved, were as craving and rampant in the Bishop and Clergy of the City of *Rome*, as they had ever been before in any Order of Men in that proud City ; for which Vices *Rome* Christian at that Time, was by *St. Hierome* called, oftner than once, the *Spiritual Babylon* ; and *St. Paulinus*, when he stil'd *Siricius*, Bishop of *Rome*, Ur-

*bicus Papa*, did both note the Greatness of that Prelate's Pontificate, and intimate that the Majesty and Grandeur of his City was the Foundation whereon it was built; and so loud did the whole World ring with the Pride of the Clergy of *Rome* at and about the Time when the Heathen Pontificate was dissolved in her, that Saint *Basil*, who lived in the *East*, speaking of them in his tenth Epistle, saith, that their Pride and *Fastus* were so great, that tho' they were ignorant of the Truth, they would not be taught it. So soon after the Emperors were turned Christians was the humble and heavenly Spirit of Christ's Gospel vanquished in *Rome* Christian, by the haughty and imperious Genius of that *immortal* and *eternal* City, as she had been commonly called by her Idolaters.

Of the early insatiable Avarice of the Ecclesiasticks of the City of *Rome*, the Law made by the three Christian Emperors *Valentianus*, *Valens*, and *Gratian*, thirteen Years before the Heathen Pontificate was dissolved, is a standing Monument, by which Law they were rendered incapable of having any Goods come to them, either by Gift or by Will: This Law, that it might come to the Knowledge of all, was, by the Emperor's Order, read in all the Churches of *Rome*. It was of this Law that St. *Hierom* spoke in his second Epistle to *Nepotianus*; his Words are, *Nec de lege conqueror, sed doleo, cur meruerimus hanc legem: Cauterium bonum est; sed quod*

*quod mihi vulnus, ut indigeam Cauterio? Provida severaq; legis cautio, & tamen nec sic refrænatur avaritia, &c.* neither do I complain of the Law, but I am sorry that we have deserved it; the Caustick is good, but how came I by the Wound that wants it; the Caution of the Law is provident and severe, yet Coveteousness is not bridled by it, &c. And that the Luxury of the Ecclesiasticks of that City at that Time was very great, the same Father witnesseth; who, speaking of them in his own Person, that they might be the less provoked with what he said, saith, *Natus in paupere domo, & in tugurio rusticano, qui vix milio & cibario pane rugientem saturare ventrem poteram; nunc simulam, & mella fastidio: Novi & genera & nomina piscium, in quo litore concha lata sit calleo, saporibus avium discerno Provincias, &c.* I, who was born in a poor House, or a Country Cottage, and could scarce have Millet, and Coarse-bread sufficient to fill my hungry Belly, do now loath Symnells and Honey; I know both the Kinds and Names of Fishes, and on what Shore the choicest Shell-fish is gathered; and by the Taste of Birds, I can tell from what particular Country they came.

And the same Father, speaking of the Clergy of Rome, in his Commentary on the Second Chapter of *Micah*, saith of them, *Sed & Ecclesiæ quoque Principes, qui deliciis affluunt, & inter Epulas atque lascivias pudicitiam servare se credunt, Propheticus Sermo describit, quod ejiciendi sunt e spaciosis domibus lautisque*



*conviviis, & multo labore Epulis conquistis, &c.* The Prophet's Discourse points out the Supreme Ministers of the Church, who wallow in Pleasures, and believe they may preserve Chastity amidst Banquets and Lasciviousness; and foretels that they shall be thrown out of their spacious Houses, and snatched from their sumptuous Feasts and Banquets, purchas'd with so much Pains and Labour.

Now from whence could this great Inundation of Pride, Avarice, and Luxury come, that had overflowed the Bishop and Clergy of the City of *Rome*, at a Time when the other Bishops in *Italy* were, by the Confession of an Adversary, exemplarily devout, humble and heavenly minded, but from the singular Majesty and Grandeur of the City, and from their thinking, now that she was become Christian, that they had a Right, for belonging to her, to Privileges equal to those which had been enjoyed by her *Pontifices, Flamines, &c.* when she was Heathen: Neither could the Christian Emperors, if they were not forward to heap the same Honours on the Clergy of their *Metropolis*, escape being proclaimed by such Men, for that their Backwardness, much less devoted to the true *Christian*, than their Heathen Predecessors had been to their false and *Idolatrous* Worship: And if any of the *Pontifices, Flamines, &c.* did after the Emperor's Example turn Christians, and were admitted into Holy Orders, how loud would they, if they



they did not change their Temper and Views with their Religion, roar against the Emperor's Coldness, as to their new Worship, if under it they enjoyed not as great Honours and Preheminences as they enjoyed before : And accordingly the Emperors were no sooner Christians, than they began to heap Privileges upon the Clergy of *Rome*, on the Account of that City's being the *Metropolis* of their Empire, and that they might not be eclipsed in her, by the great Grandeur of the Heathen Pontificate : For it was not forty Years after *Constantine's* Conversion to the Christian Faith, that the following Law was made by his Son *Constantius* : *Ecclesiæ urbis Romæ clericis concessa privilegia firmiter præcipimus custodiri.*

*Note*, That these Privileges were granted only in Consideration of their being the Clergy of the City of *Rome*.

And in a Law made by the same Emperor a Year after, speaking of the Clergy of the City of *Rome*, it is said, *Divi Principis, id est, nostri statuta genitoris, multimoda observatione caverant, uti idem Clerici privilegiis multiplicibus redundarent.* Neither could the Christian Emperors be more forward to heap great Prerogatives and Privileges on the Clergy of that City, than they were to receive them at their Hands, if not to extort them from them.

Such a Behaviour in such Men, in such a Juncture, is, I think, too natural for any to doubt of, that have not sacrificed their Understandings

derstandings entirely to the Papal Interests and Pretensions to a Supremacy.

This, I think, is a very plain and easie Account, how the pretending to a *Primacy* in the Christian Church might have got into the Head of the Bishop of the City of *Rome*, without having been first put into it by a Grant of that *Primacy* from Heaven ; without which the Papal Champions will not hear that that Bishop could ever have dreamt of it, no more than any other Bishop ; and for that Reason they do vapour with the Pope's being in Possession of a Supremacy, as a Demonstration of its being the immediate Gift of God to him ; which it will be Time enough to believe after they have proved, that the City of *Rome* was not the *Metropolis* of the *Roman* Empire ; and that the Bishops and Clergy of *Rome* were Men of too great Humility, Mortification and Self-denial, to accept of any worldly Privileges, had they not, by being the Gift of Heaven, been forced to accept of them, not for their own Conveniency, but for the Benefit of the Church ; which is a Character very different from that which we see is given of them by Saint *Hierome*, Saint *Paulinus*, and Saint *Basil*, who were their Cotemporaries, and knew them well ; by which three *Saints* the Church of *Rome* was either slandered most abominably, or that Church contributed nothing to the *Catholick Church*, which Epithet was about this Time added to the *Latin* or *Occidental* Creed, having only had the Epithet *Holy* before

fore; the Roman Clergy being about that Time stiled by Saint *Hierome*, *A Senate of Pharisees, without a Scribe, or learned Man, amongst them.*

Being satisfied that this is the true History of the Origin of all the Papal Pretensions to a *Primacy* in the Christian Religion, and not much doubting but that those aspiring Pretensions, in such a Juncture as that of the Dissolution of the Heathen Pontificate in *Rome*, must have made divers clear Discoveries of themselves: In order to find Proofs it, I diligently perused the Books Heathen and Christian, which were written about that Time; and having in them met with the following Evidences, I shall here lay them before the Reader, with a Request to him to judge of them impartially.

The first Proof I met with of this, was, that the Bishops of *Rome*, at and about the Time when the Heathen Pontificate was dissolved, did take upon them a good deal of the State of the *Pontifex Maximus*, and of his sumptuous Way of Living: This is manifest from the Account that is given of those Bishops by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, a learned Historian, who lived in that Age; who speaking of the Tragical and bloody Struggle that was betwixt *Damasus* and *Ursicinus* for the Bishoprick of *Rome*, at the very Time when the Heathen Pontificate was abolished in her, saith of them, as followeth.

*Neque*

*Neque ego, inquit, abnuo, ostentationem rerum considerans urbanarum, hujus rei cupidos ob impetrandum quod appetunt omni contentione laterum jurgari debere; cum id adepti, futuri sint ita securi, ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspēcte vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas. Qui esse poterant beati re vera, si magnitudine Urbis despecta quam vitiis opponunt, ad imitationem Antistitum quorundam provincialium viverent; quos tenuitas edendi, potandique parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum, & supercilia humum spectantia, perpetuo Numini, verisque ejus Cultoribus, ut puros commendant & verecundos. i. e.*

Considering the Pomp of the City, I do not wonder that they that are covetous of that, should strive with all their Force to obtain that Office, which having once acquired, they are secure that they shall be enriched with the Oblations of Matrons, ride about in their Coaches, be gorgeously apparelled, and prepare such Banquets and Feasts as exceed those of Royal Tables; who might be truly happy, if despising the Greatness of the City with which they skreen and cover their Vices, they would live after the Example of some Provincial Bishops, whose great Abstinence in eating and drinking, together with the Meanness of their Cloaths, and the Modesty of their Behaviour, constantly recommends them as pure and humble in the Sight of God and good Men. According to this Account the Bishop

of



of *Rome* did in four Things resemble the *Pontifex Maximus*; first, In never going abroad, but in a Littre or Chariot: Secondly, In wearing rich and costly Robes: Thirdly, In being very nice in the wearing of them: And Lastly, In large and sumptuous Banquets.

The Bishops of *Rome* riding about in State in their Coaches, sumptuously and nicely drest, and making great Banquets, at the same Time that the other Bishops recommended themselves to God, and all good Christians, by their singular Devotion, Abstinence and Humility, is here imputed solely to their being full of the Grandeur of their City; which if they could have been so happy as to have despised, they would have been as Holy as their Brethren. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, from whom we have this Account, was, it is true, a Heathen; but the Papal Champions are so far from denying its Truth for that Reason, that they glory in it as a plain Testimony of the early great Grandeur of the Bishop of *Rome*.

And that the Resemblance that there was, according to this Account, betwixt the *Roman* Bishop and the *Roman Pontifex Maximus* may appear the plainer, I shall here set down what *Cicero* saith of that *Pontifex* in his Oration before the *Pontifces*, where addressing himself to *Lentulus*, he saith, *Te appello, Lentule, tui Sacerdotii sunt Tensæ, Curricula, Præcentio, Ludi, Libationes, Epulæque Ludorum*. I appeal to thee, *Lentulus*, to whose Pontificate the Litres,

tres, Coaches, Musick, Plays, Libations, and the Banquets usual at Games, belong.

The second Proof I met with was, the saying of *Prætextatus*, the Prefect of the City, to *Damasus*, when he and *Ursicinus* were killing and slaying in the City for the Bishoprick, *Facite me Romanæ Urbis Episcopum, & ero protinus Christianus*. Make me Bishop of Rome, and I will forthwith be a Christian. Now what else could it be but the State, Plenty and Luxury that the Bishop of Rome lived in at that Time, after the Example of the Heathen Pontifices, that put *Prætextatus*, who was a great Champion for Heathenism, upon making that Offer.

Thirdly, At and about the Time when the Heathen Pontificate was dissolved, and never before, there were fierce and bloody Strugglings for the Bishoprick of Rome: By that which was betwixt *Damasus* and *Ursicinus*, at the very Time when the Heathen Pontificate was abolished, the City of Rome was made a Scene of Blood and Confusion; an hundred and thirty having been slaughtered in a Church on one Day in that Quarrel. And in the Struggle, which was not long after, for that Bishoprick, betwixt *Boniface* and *Eulalius*, the Tumult was so great and furious, that the Prefect of the City not being able to suppress it, was forced to write to the Emperor *Honorius* to make use of his Authority; which that Emperor having done, he commanded both the Candidates forthwith to leave Rome, and appear before

before him at *Ravenna*, which they both did.

The Ambition of the *Roman* Clergy being raised to such an exorbitant Height at this Time, that the publick Peace of the City was visibly in Danger of being disturbed by every Election of a new Bishop; the Emperor *Honorius*, to bridle that outrageous Passion in them, if it was possible, did order Pope *Boniface* to let his Clergy know, *that they must cease from Ambition*; and knowing no Course so likely to oblige them to do that, as was the rendring of all the seditious workings of their Ambition unprofitable to them; that Emperor did give them to understand, *That for the future, whensoever two should be chosen and ordained Bishops of Rome, that neither of them should hold that See, but a third should be elected, who had not contended for it.*

Whosoever is acquainted with the deplorable Condition the City of *Rome* was in at this Time, by reason of her having been miserably sack'd by the *Goths*, and laid yet more desolate by a raging Pestilence and Famine, cannot but stand amazed to find the Ambition of her Clergy so rampant amidst three such great Plagues, as to stand in need of Imperial Monitions to withhold it from disturbing the publick Peace, as often as a new Bishop was chosen by them; a sad Proof of the Papal Ambition's having been incurable from its Birth; whose true Date is from the Fall of the *Heathen Pontificate*, that Ambition having been  
before

before only as an Embryo, ready to be midwifed into the World by so favourable a Juncture.

The fourth Proof I met with was the Emperor's, (upon the Fall of the Heathen Pontificate) beginning to speak of the Bishops of *Rome*, as if they had succeeded the *Pontifex Maximus* in many of his Privileges, tho' not as to his whole Authority, which the Christian Emperors never parted with, tho' in Process of Time it was wrested from them in the *West*, together with that Part of their Empire. So *Siricius*, who succeeded *Damasus*, and not without Tumults, is by the Emperor *Valentinianus*, in a Letter which he writ to *Pinianus*, said *Præesse Sacerdotio*; and the Emperor *Maximus*, speaking of Letters which he had received from that Bishop, saith of them, *Quæque plane nomini Sacerdotis & dignitati urbis splendidissima convenerant*, that is, which were agreeable to the Name of the Priest, and to the Dignity of the most splendid City; plainly founding that Bishop's Preheminence upon the Imperial Dignity of the City of *Rome*. The Emperor *Honorius*, above sixty Years after Heathenism was abolished in *Rome*, calls that City, after the Heathens, *Urbs Sacratissima*, and her Bishops, *Episcopi Urbis Æternæ*, and her Bishoprick *Sacerdotium Urbis Æternæ*, which is a Demonstration that the Christian Emperors still retained a sacred Veneration for the City of *Rome*, and upon her Account solely, for the *Roman* Bishoprick, more than for any other.

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The fifth Proof is the Canon that was made by the third Council of *Carthage*, within twenty Years after the Dissolution of the Heathen Pontificate, on purpose to put a Stop to the growing Ambition and Usurpations of the Bishops of *Rome*; that Canon runs thus: *Ut primæ Sedis Episcopus non appelletur Princeps Sacerdotum, aut summus Sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi, sed tantum primæ Sedis Episcopus.* That the Bishop of the first See shall not be called *the Prince of Priests*, nor *the Supreme Priest*, nor any thing like that, but only the Bishop of the First See; plainly signifying that the Bishop of *Rome*, not having his Primacy by divine Institution, ought not, as if he had it so, to be stiled *Princeps Sacerdotum*, or *Summus Sacerdos*; but that having his Primacy purely from the supreme Dignity of his City, he ought on its Account to be called only the Bishop of the First See, and whose See was for no other Reason the First, but because *Rome* was the First City of the Empire: All this was founded on the well known and indubitable Truth in the Primitive Church, That all Bishops are, by divine Institution, equal in all Things whatsoever, of Jurisdiction as well as Order.

Six Years after this Canon, the following Canon was by the Council of *Milevis* in *Africk* made with the same View.

*Quod si ab iis, id est, vicinis Episcopis, provocandum putarent, non provocent, nisi ad Africana concilia, vel ad Primates provinciarum*  
 G suarum

*suarum ; ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communionem suscipiatur.*

But if they shall think fit to appeal from them, *i. e.* the neighbouring Bishops, they shall not appeal to any but to *African Councils*, or to the Primates of their own *Provinces* ; and whosoever shall think of appealing to any beyond Sea, shall not be received into Communion.

It is not more certain that there lyes a Sea betwixt *Rome* and *Africk*, than 'tis, that all Appeals of Ecclesiasticks from *Africk* to *Rome* are forbidden by this Canon, under Pain of Excommunication.

Sixthly, About ten Years after this Canon was made, a Claim was actually put in by Pope *Zozymus* to a Right of Appeals from the *African Church* to the *Roman Pontif* ; of which ambitious Claim, and of the Frauds and Arts by which the Bishops of *Rome* did seek to support it, I have said enough in an Essay on the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*.

The Seventh Proof is, The early great Insolence and Presumption of the inferior Clergy of the City of *Rome* ; in which the Heathen Pontificate was no sooner dissolved than the Deacons of that City did offer at exalting of themselves above Presbyters, to whose Orders they are both by the Scriptures and by the Canons of the Church ordained to be much inferior : Of this early Presumption of the *Roman Deacons* the Author of the Questions

sions of the Old and New Testament takes Notice, and assigns a true Reason of it in the Words following. *Sed quia Romanæ Ecclesiæ ministri sunt, idcirco honorabiliores putantur quam apud cæteras Ecclesias, propter magnificentiâ Urbis Romæ, quæ caput esse videtur omnium Civitatum;* that is, But because they are the Ministers of the Roman Church, they are for that Reason thought to be more honourable than the Ministers of other Churches, on the Account of the Magnificence of the City of Rome, which seems to be the Head of all Cities. And the same Author speaking of the same Presumption, saith, *Vides quid pariat vana presumptio, immemores enim elatione mentis, eo quod videant Romanæ Ecclesiæ esse ministros, non considerant quid his a Deo decretum est;* that is, You see the Fruits of their vain Presumption; for being puffed up because they are Ministers of the City of Rome, they forget themselves, and do not consider what God has ordained them. And Saint Hierome, in his Letter to Evagrius, beats down the whole Papal Fabrick erected in Rome upon the Fall of the Heathen Pontificate in her, at which time that learned Father lived in that City: His Words are,

*Nec altera Romanæ Urbis Ecclesiâ, altera totius orbis existimanda est; & Gallia & Britannia, & Africa, & Persis, & Oriens, & India, & omnes barbaræ nationes unum Christum adorant, unam observant regulam veritatis: Si auctoritas quæritur, Orbis major est Urbe; ubicunque fuerit Episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Engu-*



*bii, five Constantinopoli, five Rhegii, five Alexandria, five Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est & sacerdotii: potentia divitiarum, & paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit, ceterum omnes Apostolorum successores sunt; that is, Neither is the Church of the City of Rome to be esteemed different from the Church of the whole World; for France and Britain, and Africk, and Persia, and the East, and India, and all the barbarous Nations do worship one Christ, and observe one Rule of Truth: If any Authority be required for what is here asserted, that of the World is greater than that of a single City: Wheresoever there is a Bishop, whether at Rome or at Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Tanis, he is of equal Dignity, and of the same Priesthood: Great Riches or extreme Poverty do neither exalt nor diminish the Episcopal Order; since all Bishops are the Apostles Successors.*

Here we have laid before us a plain Scheme of the Work which the Bishop and Clergy of the City of Rome did set about upon the Fall of the Heathen Pontificate, at which time this Letter was written by Saint Hierome. *First.* They were modelling a Church in Rome of a different Form from all other Churches. *Secondly.* They began to pretend to a Superiority over all other Churches. *Lastly.* The Bishop of that City was exalting himself above all other Bishops; which three ambitious Attempts were all condemned by this learned Father, who is positive, that all Churches are the



the same, worshipping the same Christ, and having the same Rule of Truth.

*Secondly.* From hence we see, That the Authority of all other Churches is greater than the Authority of the Church of the City of *Rome*: And that the Bishop of the smallest and poorest City, for Example of *Eubugium*, is equal to one of the greatest, and is the Successor of the Apostles no less than the Bishop of the rich and magnificent City of *Rome*. Many are positive that St. *Hierome* was created a Cardinal by *Damasus*, first with the Title of St. *Anastasi*, and afterwards with the Title of St. *Laurentius*; but this Story being plainly a Fable devised many Years after St. *Hierome's* Death, to do Honour to the College of Cardinals, I shall make no use of it.

But tho' nothing can be more contrary to the very Institution of the Orders of Presbyters and Deacons in the Scriptures, and to the Canons of Councils, particularly that of *Nice*, and the universal Practice of the whole Church, than the Exaltation of Deacons above Presbyters; yet, in Defiance to all those great and Sacred Authorities, that Presumption does not only still continue in the Church of the City of *Rome*, but it has risen to that Height, that her Cardinals, who are but Deacons, are highly exalted, not only above all Presbyters, but above all Bishops likewise, who are not by Vertue of their Sees Members of their College: Offo little Authority in *Rome* are the Scriptures, the Canons, and the universal U-

sage of the Catholick Church, when they offer to set Bounds to their Ambition ; which was never more insatiable in her *Consuls* and *Senate* than they have now been thro' divers Ages in her *Bishops* and College of *Cardinals*.

The eighth Proof is the following Decision that was made at this Time by a Council assembled at *Turin*, upon a Dispute that there was for Primacy, betwixt the Bishop of *Arles* and the Bishop of *Vien* in *France*. *Illud deinde inter Episcopos urbium Arelatensis & Vienensis qui de primatus apud nos honore certabant, a Sancto Synodo definitum est, ut qui ex iis comprobaverit suam civitatem esse Metropolim, is totius provinciae honorem primatus obtineat, & ipse, juxta præcepta Canonum, ordinationum habeat potestatem.* It is therefore defined by the Holy Synod betwixt the Bishops of the City of *Arles* and of *Vien*, who contended before us for the Primacy ; That he that shall prove his City to be the Metropolis (i. e. the Political Metropolis) of the whole Province, shall obtain the Honour of the Primacy ; and shall, according to the Determination of the Canons, exercise the Power of Ordinations.

Three considerable Truths may, I think, be plainly gathered from the forementioned Decision, made by this antient Council: *The first is*, That all the Superiorities which any Bishop had over other Bishops, were owing solely to the Political Preheminences of their Cities. *The second is*, That the Bishop of the civil Metropolis of a Province, with the Title

tle of Metropolitan, had the Primacy, with Authority and Jurisdiction over all the Bishops within the Districts of that Province. *The third is*, That the Metropolitan Bishops, which was at this Time the highest Title in the Hierarchy, tho' they had Precedency one of another, according to the Political Precedency of their several Metropolis's; yet out of their several Provinces they had not any Authority or Jurisdiction. So this great Contest betwixt the Bishops of *Arles* and *Vien* was not, we see, carried to *Rome*, whose Bishop was the first Metropolitan, because his City was the first Metropolis of the Empire; but it was heard and decided by a Council of the Province in which the Diocesses of those two Bishops were: And could we but certainly learn which were the *Suburbicarian Cities* to *Rome*, which we are certain were all in *Italy*, we should not be at a Loss for the Bounds of her Province, beyond which her Metropolitan had no Authority or Jurisdiction. And that *Aquilea*, tho' in *Italy*, (yet being no Suburbicarian City, no more than *Turin*,) was not then under the Bishop of *Rome*'s Jurisdiction, is, I think, very plain, from that Bishop's not being so much as once mentioned in the famous Council which was held in the City of *Aquileia*, in the Year 381, in which two Bishops and a Presbyter were deposed for Heresy. But all the wise and Primitive Rules of Church Government were violently broke thorough by the Bishops of *Rome*, soon after



the Fall of the Heathen Pontificate.

*Innocent* the First, who was truly the *first Pope*, having not long after laid about him so with shameless Lies and Forgeries, to extend the Jurisdiction of his See beyond its Metropolitcal Province, that the forementioned *African* Canons were made on purpose to have bridled that Ambition : And in this *Innocent* was not singular ; the Bishops of the other three great Cities of the Empire, to wit, *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, having about the same Time begun to usurp a Jurisdiction over the Metropolitans that were about them ; and who having, with the Emperor's Assistance, succeeded in that Enterprize, to distinguish them from all other Metropolitans, they had given them the Title of *Patriarch*, with an Authority over all the Metropolitans within their several Districts, which being bounded out, were called the four *Patriarchates* : This new Title and Jurisdiction had plainly the same Grounds with the Metropolitcal, which was visibly the civil Preheminences of the Cities upon which they were conferred ; and the same is expressly confirmed in the last Decree of the General Council of *Chalcedon*, where speaking of the General Council of *Constantinople's* having granted the same Privileges to that City's Bishop, as had been granted to the Bishop of the elder *Rome*, and confirming what that Council had done ; it is said, Καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ Ρώμης, ὅτι τὸ βασιλεύειν ἢ πῶ-  
 ριν ἐκείνῳ, οἱ πατέρες εὐκρίτως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ  
 πρεσβεία



πρεσβεία· καὶ ὡς σκοπῶ κινεμένοι οἱ ῥν Θεοφιλέσαιοι  
ἐπίσκοποι, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεία, ἀπένευμαν τῇ τῇ νέας  
Ρώμης ἀΓιωτάτῳ Θρόνῳ, ἐυλόγως κρίναντες τὴν βασιλείαν,  
καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖς πόλιν, καὶ τὴν ἴσων ὑπολαύσαν  
πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρῃ βασιλίδι Ρώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκ-  
κλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνῳ, μεγαλυνεῖσθαι πράγμασι. i. e.

*For as the Fathers justly granted to the See of the elder Rome distinguishing Privileges on Account of its being the Seat of Empire; so an hundred and fifty holy Bishops for the same reason granted equal Priviledges to the most holy See of New Rome, i. e. Constantinople; reasonably judging that a City which was become the Seat of Empire, and of supreme Judicature, should enjoy equal Priviledges with the ancient Imperial City of Rome, and have a Preheminence as well as the other in Ecclesiastick Affairs.*

Note here *First*, That for the Truth of the Bishop of Rome's having had all his Privileges conferred on him, solely upon the Consideration of the civil Empire of the City of Rome, we have the express Testimony of two General Councils. *Secondly*, That the Bishop of Rome's Vicars or Legates, besides an honorary Precedency, had no more Power in Councils than the Vicars of any other absent Bishop; the former Decree having been unanimously enacted by this General Council, in Defiance to the Papal Vicars having protested against its being done. *Thirdly*, That the Quarrel the Roman Vicars and their Master had with this Decree, was not for its having assigned a false Ground for all its Priviledges, but for having postponed

ed the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* to the Bishop of *Constantinople* ; being jealous that the Reason which had carried him over the Heads of those two Bishops, might in time carry him over his Head too, as it was once in a fair Way to have done.

*Lastly*, The Bishop of *Rome* bearing the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, and wearing a Crown of Gold, and anciently white linen Shoes, as the Heathen *Pontifex Maximus* had wore ; and the inferior Clergy of *Rome* constituting a College with their *Pontifex Maximus*, as the Heathen inferior *Pontifices* did with theirs ; and a Cap being the chief Ensign of the Cardinal's Dignity, as it was of the *Flamines*, are some Evidences of the Papal Government in *Rome*, on which Saint *Hierome* reflects, as new and singular ; having been modelled according to the Pattern shewed to them on the Mount *Palatine*, to the Subversion of the Form of Church Government by Bishops and Metropolitans which before had been in all Places, and so erected a Tyranny in the Church of Christ, under which the *Western* Church did groan for divers Ages ; and all other Churches at one time or another have been disturbed by it to oblige them to wear its Yoke.

But tho' the Foundations of the Papal Tyranny were laid upon the Ruins of the Heathen Pontificate ; yet *Rome* Papal, (like *Rome* Heathen) was not built in a Day, by Reason of the Opposition it met with both from the Emperors and from the Church : The Christian

ftian Emperors, when they dropt the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, as not confiftent with their Religion, did, for the fame Reasons that they assumed the Pontifical Power at first, (which was for the Prefervation of their Persons and Government,) ftill hold it, fo as to keep in themselves the fupreme Authority and Jurifdiction in all Affairs of Religion, which were not the immediate Exercifes of Holy Orders : So we fee, thro' divers Ages after the Fall of the Heathen Pontificate, many Laws were made by the Emperors about Religion; and all the General Councils of the Church were called by them, appointing the Time and Places when and where they were to meet; and they were all assembled by them in the *East*, notwithstanding the Petitions they had from the Bifhops of *Rome* to assemble fome of them in the *West*: The Bifhops of *Rome* were likewise named by them, and in a Word obeyed their Commands concerning Matters of Religion, tho' their Commands were not agreeable to the Ambition that lay lurking in their Hearts, and which waited for an Opportunity to exalt it self: And having met with one in the ninth Century, when *Italy* was by the *French*, at the Papal Infigation, torn from the Empire, and when that Province was afterwards by the *Normans* and *Germans* broke into divers Principalities, It made fo good Use of its Time in that great and long Scramble, as, during it, to erect to it self in *Rome* an Ecclesiastical Empire,



pire, with considerable temporal Dominions ; which Papal Empire was visibly erected and supported by a longer and viler Train of Frauds, Treasons, and Rebellions, and gain'd through a deeper Sea of Blood, than was ever any other Empire.

All that can be opposed to the foregoing plain Account of the Rise of the Papal Pretensions to a Supremacy, is the Story of Saint *Peter* the first of the Apostles having been Bishop of *Rome*, and settled a Supremacy there on all his Successors ; and who ( if the hardy Pope *Innocent* the first, speaking as magisterially as if he had spoke *à Cathedrâ*, is to be believed before Saint *Luke* ) was the only Apostle that ever was at *Rome*, or did preach Christ's Gospel in the City, or in any of the *Western* Provinces of the *Roman* Empire ; which Story, with all its precarious Consequences, must appear to all that will sift it impartially to the Bottom, to be one of the most groundless Fables that ever had the good Luck to be believed, not excepting the Story of *Simon Magus* being worshipped in *Rome* as a God, tho' by Vertue of Saint *Peter's* Prayers, he was by that whole City seen tumble down from the Air, as he was flying in it, and by that terrible Fall broke both his Hip and his Ankle-bones : And great Pity it was that he had not broke his Neck too, since that might perhaps have kept the *Roman* Senate from allowing an Altar to be erected to him in the *Tiburine* Island, in which a few Years ago an Altar was found



found with the following Inscription upon it.

*Semoni Sango Deo Fidio Sacrum.*

i. e.

*Consecrated to the Half God Sanguis, the Son of Jupiter, i. e. Hercules.*

In which very Island *Simon Magus* was by several of the ancients said to be worshipped. Nor can I except the Story of Pope *Joan*, which tho' it is ridicul'd by the Papists, is not quite so improbable as that of Pope *Peter*.

For a full Satisfaction as to this great Point, I shall refer the Reader to a most elaborate *English* Treatise, Printed in *London* for *Randall Tayler*, and licensed by Mr. *Needham*, Chaplain to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 1687, with the following Title, *A modest Enquiry, whether Saint Peter were ever at Rome, and Bishop of that Church*: Which Treatise whosoever shall read, with any Measure of Judgment and Impartiality, will not afterwards find it very easie for him to deny his Subscription to the Truth of what that learned Writer saith in his Sum of the State of the whole Matter: His Words are,

“ Touching which, what need I say more,  
 “ but briefly sum up the State of the whole  
 “ Matter? If Saint *Peter*'s being Bishop of  
 “ *Rome*, or so much as ever there, be not  
 “ provable by Scripture, nor any convincing  
 “ Arguments, but whatever can be said for  
 “ it is easily answered, and rendred not so  
 “ much as probable: If the Witnesses of the  
 “ Story

“ Story are at open Wars and Contradictions  
 “ in the Circumstances, yet all pretending to  
 “ a most punctual Exactness, and the learnedst  
 “ and most subtle Advocates of the Party sweat  
 “ in vain to invent so much as Colours to re-  
 “ concile them: If from Scripture and Histo-  
 “ ry, and a due Comparison of all Circum-  
 “ stances, it is improbable to the highest De-  
 “ gree, That ever *Peter* was at *Rome*, much  
 “ more that he was Bishop thereof: If the Sto-  
 “ ry depend on counterfeit Authors, or such  
 “ as justly are of little Credit, and Abundance  
 “ of shameful Forgeries have been invented  
 “ and made use of to support it: If it be de-  
 “ rogatory to the Honour of Saint *Peter*’s  
 “ Memory to assert it: In fine, if it be no  
 “ difficult Task to apprehend and shew by  
 “ what Methods and Degrees it might be  
 “ advanced to popular Credit, and for what  
 “ Ends: If, I say, all this be made appear,  
 “ (and how far this brief Disquisition may be  
 “ satisfactory that Way, is left to the judicious  
 “ unbigotted Peruser and Posterity to deter-  
 “ mine.) I conceive the old Out-cry of *Great*  
 “ *is Diana of the Ephesians*, the Noise of St.  
 “ *Peter*’s Chair, and *Peter*’s Successors, will  
 “ henceforth abate somewhat of its Influences,  
 “ or indeed signifie very little, unless it be to  
 “ expose their Confidence that use it.

“ However, if any shall still be amused and  
 “ and prevailed upon by those empty Sounds  
 “ and unravelled Charms, I may perhaps ad-  
 “ mire their Faith, or rather pity their weak  
 “ Credulity,

“ Credulity, but must crave leave to say, that  
 “ till my Reason is better satisfied (which with  
 “ the uttermost Diligence and Impartiality I  
 “ have endeavoured) it shall have no Room  
 “ in my Creed. And so, Reader, farewell.

I shall only add, that to This, and to all the other Fables and Forgeries, whereby the Papal Empire was erected and established, may very well be applied what *Amphilochius* saith of the Tales that were in the Heathen Religion; to wit,

Μύθους γέλωτος ἀξίους καὶ δακρύων.

*Fables worthy of Laughter and of Tears.*

Worthy of Laughter for their Improbability and Absurdity; Worthy of their Tears for their being, by means of the Boldness of their *Demetrius's*, believed by many to their great Cost and Reproach.

F I N I S.







THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
*Famous HOUSE*  
OF  
LAURETO.

WITH

An Account of its EVIDENCES,  
RICHES, MIRACLES, &c.

AND

With some REMARKS upon  
them All.

---

By MICHAEL GEDDES, L. L. D.  
And Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

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*Spectatum admissi, risum teneatis amici ?*

Horatius de Arte Poet.

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# THE PREFACE.

**T**HEY that, in all Religious Matters, are resolved to believe whatsoever the Popes say they believe, and do recommend to them, have a Story upon which they may safely exercise their meritorious Popish Faith. The following Story is the Substance of what was writ concerning the famous Chapel of Laureto, by the Jesuit Horatius Tursellinus ; and which having been Printed at Rome, has Pope Clement VIII's Approbation Printed before it : And as to those, who without better Evidence cannot readily believe Things of so prodigious a Nature, their Reading of this Legend will not, I suppose, dispose them much to change their present Persuasion of things. There is not a Story any where, that I know of, comparable to this, to shew how far an implicit Faith is capable of being carried by its Oracles, who, either to augment the Merit of that Faith, or to triumph in the Greatness of their own Authority, do often impose such things upon their Followers, that if they had studied to have formed them incredible, they could not have been much more so than they are.



A  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
*Famous House*  
OF  
LAURETO, &c.

HE House in *Nazareth* in *Galilee*, in which the blessed Virgin was born and bred, after it had stood above thirteen hundred Years in that City, was, on the ninth of *May*, in the Year 1291, removed from thence in the Night by four Angels, and was set down on a Mountain in *Dalmatia*, not far from the City *Trisectum*, which is at least two thousand Miles from that of *Nazareth*. That Mountain stood near

the *Adriatick* Sea, which before was infamous for frequent and violent Tempests, but has been much calmer ever since the Arrival of that House. In the Morning the Fame of an House's standing upon a Mountain, where there was no Sign of a House the Night before, drew all the Country to see so great a Rarity; and being wonderfully astonish'd when they saw an old House there, whole and entire, with an arched Roof, a Chimney, and a Steeple for Bells, they did all approach it with great Fear and Reverence: But having however ventured to go in, the first Place they came into was a Chapel of an oblong Figure, it was built with common Stone, but its Roof was arched and fretted, and being painted with Blue was full of Stars: Under the Arch were Semicircles, and in the midst of them two Nitches; the Walls were near a Cubit thick, and well plaister'd; and on them was painted the History of all the Mysteries belonging to the House; towards the Top the Painting was fair, but was much defaced near the Bottom: The whole Building was above forty Foot in Length, in Breadth less than twenty, and in Height twenty five; and in the middle of the Front was a Gate with a coarse Beam over it: On the Left Hand was a Cupboard that had earthen Ware in it, which had belonged to the blessed Virgin, and had been used by her, and to this Day it works Miracles; on the Right Hand was a small Window,



dow, and over-against that Window a Chimney of poor Work, like the rest : In that Room was a Nitch, with guttered Pillars, and arched with the same Work ; and in that Nitch an Image of the blessed Virgin, of two Cubits, made of Cedar, with the Child Jesus in her Arms ; her Face was covered with Amber, which looked like Silver, but was much tarnish'd with the Smoke of the Lamps : She had a double Crown on her Head, and her Hair, according to the Custom of the *Nazarenes*, was parted, and dishevelled over her bare Neck and Shoulders : She was covered with a Stole of Gold, which reached down to her Feet, and had a blue Mantle about her Shoulders, and a large Girdle. The Child *Jesus* was in Coats, and had a Girdle about him, holding out the first Fingers of his Right Hand, in the Posture of wishing well to one ; and in his Left Hand he held a Globe of Gold : Before this Image was an Altar built with Square Stone.

The *Dalmatians* having observed all these Things with a reverential Admiration, and being satisfied that this old House stood somewhere else many Years, they were at a great Loss for the Place it had come from ; however, being certain that its Translation was miraculous, they did all worship it with the profoundest Prostrations of their Minds and Bodies : Their Minds were thereupon strangely enlightened, and their Bodies cured of all their Distempers ; neither were they long

without the Satisfaction of knowing certainly the Place from whence this miraculous House had been brought : For the Bishop of *Trisectum*, whose Name was *Alexander*, being at the Point of Death, when the News of this Rarity came first to that City, he roused himself up when it was told him, and commanded his Servants to make ready his Litter presently, and carry him to visit it, that he might worship it before he died, and learn the Place from whence it came ; but having tried to rise, he found he had not Strength to perform that Journey, so he lay down again, and upon his Sick Bed did offer up his Devotions to it so fervently, that the blessed Virgin appeared to him, with a great Company of Angels in her Train ; and having with her Presence filled the Room with a heavenly Light, with a benign Countenance she said to him.

*My Son, be of good cheer, for being invocated by you, behold I am here present to cure you, and to tell you that you are so solicitous to learn. You must therefore know, That the holy House which is brought into your Neighbourhood is the very House I was born and bred in : In it I received the Message brought to me by the Arch-angel Gabriel : In it, by the Operation of the Holy Ghost, I conceived the Divine Child, and in it the Word was made Flesh. After our Departure this House, eminent for such Mysteries, was consecrated by the Apostles, who did all celebrate the divine Offices in it ; and on the*  
*Altar*

*Altar that is in it Saint Peter did first officiate; the Crucifix was placed in it by the Apostles, and the Image of Cedar is my Picture drawn by the Hand of Saint Luke the Evangelist, who, for the great Friendship that was betwixt us, did draw my Picture in Colours, as far as it is lawful for a Mortal to draw it. This House, beloved of Heaven, was thro' many Ages worshipped with great Honours; but that Worship having now, together with the Faith, ceased in those Parts, it did leave Nazareth, and is come into your Country: And that there may remain no Doubt of the Truth of this, it was all performed by the Almighty, with whom no Word is impossible: And that you may be both a Publisher of this Truth and a Witness of it, Be you whole, that your sudden Health, after so long a Sickness, may be a Testimony to this Miracle.*

Having said this, the blessed Virgin departed, and the Bishop finding himself in perfect Health, he leapt out of his Bed, and forgetting his Age, Authority and all *Decorum*, he did run about the Streets as if he had been light-headed, making a Proclamation all the Way of his Vision, and of all that had been revealed to him.

Never were the Contents of any Proclamation swallowed more greedily, nor entertained with greater Rejoicings, than this of Bishop *Alexander's*; and so much transported was *Nicholas Frangepani*, the great Ban of *Dalmatia*, that he thought he could never do enough to express his Thankfulness to Heaven for so sin-

gular an Honour and Blessing : And to put it out of the Power of succeeding Generations to doubt of the Truth of Bishop *Alexander's* Vision, he did send four Men of noted Skill and Probity, to fetch from *Nazareth* undeniable Evidences of it : Bishop *Alexander* was one of the four, and having all got safe to *Nazareth*, they were told by the Christians that dwelt there, with an inexpressible Sorrow, that on a certain Night, not long before, the House that the blessed Virgin was born and bred in, had left their City, and was gone whole and entire, they did not know whither : And the *Dalmatians* themselves having taken the Dimensions of the Ground whereon the House had stood, and being told by the *Nazarenes* of its Fabrick, and of all its Circumstances, they did all agree so exactly to the House, which on the very same Night had come into *Dalmatia*, that they could not otherwise than conclude it to be the same individual House, which had been so long in *Nazareth*. Of all this the *Dalmatians* were, to their unspeakable Joy, certified by Bishop *Alexander*, after he returned home, in a Sermon which he preached to them at that miraculous House. But this Joy of the *Dalmatians* lasted not long ; for at the end of three Years and seven Months, no body can tell why or wherefore, unless it were to go into the Papal Territories, the miraculous House left them, and in a dark and tempestuous Night (for it always travelled only by its own Light)

was



was carried by four Angels over the *Adriatick* Sea, which it had made less subject to Storms than ever it was before, and was set down in a Wood in *Italy*, that was about a Mile from that Sea; all the Trees of that Wood having, as it passed by them, bowed themselves very low, and in that worshipping Posture they remained all the Time they stood, which would have been much longer than it was, if they had not been impiously cut down by the Hands of Peasants, in order to improve the Land. This Wood belonged to a Lady whose Name was *Laureto*, from whom that itinerant House had the Name, which it still bears. The Shepherds, who were abroad looking after their Sheep in that stormy Night, in the beginning of *December*, beheld a marvellous Light all over the Wood, and some of them were very positive that they saw the House in the Air, as it was crossing the *Adriatick* Sea. The House of *Laureto*, for so I shall call it hereafter, was no sooner set down, than the Shepherds ran to it, and surveyed it all over by its own Light; and in the Morning carried the News of that Rarity to the City of *Ricinetum*: It was received there in the same Manner as it was before at *Trisectum*; old and young, rich and poor, tho' it was at the Distance of four Miles from that City, flocked to it, and paid it all the same Honours which were paid to it in *Dalmatia* by its first Visitors: It did work the same Miracles on their Minds and Bodies: And  
whereas

whereas there was not in that Wood, nor very near it, any House for the Accomodation of Pilgrims, they were all forced to lodge upon the cold Ground, exposed to the Inclemency of the Winter Season, and the greater Inclemency of the impious *Banditti*; by whom the Pilgrims were robbed and murdered so fast, that to the great Diminution of that House's Worship, People began to be afraid to visit it. But the House of *Laureto*, instead of destroying or restraining those irreligious *Banditti*, by its miraculous Power, did leave that Wood to them, and was by four Angels carried to a Hill, that was at a Mile's Distance from it: That Hill was in common betwixt two Brothers, who rejoiced beyond Measure at their having got so great a Treasure upon their Land: At first they both seemed to worship it with extraordinary Devotion; but being at Bottom both extremely covetous, they soon began to quarrel about the dividing of the rich Offerings that were made, which they looked on as their own Goods, each of them pretending that the whole Hill belonged to him; and being ready to have decided the Controversie with their Swords; the House of *Laureto*, that it might not be defiled with Fraternal Blood, did leave their Hill in less than four Months after it came upon it, and settled itself upon another Hill, not above a Bow-Shot from it, but which belonged to neither of those Brothers; and on this last Hill it stands to this Day.

Tho'

Tho' the *Italians* were certain that the House stood many Years in another Place, from the Testimony of the Shepherds who had seen it cross the *Adriatick* Sea, and from the *Antiquity* of its Building; yet not having heard any Thing of its having been in *Dalmatia*, (which was very strange, considering how loud a Noise it had made there for above three Years and a half, and the continual Communication there was betwixt *Dalmatia* and *Italy*) they could never learn from whence it had come to them; until one *Paul*, an Hermit in the Wood of *Laureto*, had the same Vision concerning it, that Bishop *Alexander* had four Years before: When the Hermit did first publish his Vision in the City of *Picenum*, he was laughed at by every Body, as one that took his own distempered Dreams for Visions: But a Rumour soon after having crept about that such a House had left *Dalmatia* about the Time when the *Laureto* came into *Italy*, Sixteen Embassadors were sent by the City of *Picenum* to examine that Part of the Hermit's Vision; and in case they found that to be true, they were to go on to *Nazareth*: The sixteen Embassadors being come to *Triseetum*, they found that Part of the Hermit's Vision true to a Tittle; and it was the same at *Nazareth*, from whence they brought all the same Evidences, that that House left that City, as were brought some Years before from thence by the *Dalmatian* Embassadors. It was in the Year 1296 that the *Italian*

Embas.



Embassadors returned to *Italy* with that Report ; and yet, which is very strange, in above 150 Years after that, the miraculous Translations of the House of *Laureto* are no where mentioned by any Writer. The first Writer that speaks of those miraculous Translations, was one *Terrimannus*, who writ about the Year 1460, when he was *Provost* of that House, and did never, that I heard of, write any thing beside the Narrative of those Translations: That Narrative is in a rude and simple Stile, and so short that a single Board holds it all ; it takes no Notice of the *Dalmatian* or *Italian* Embassies to *Nazareth*, as it must certainly have done, if *Terrimannus* had ever heard of them ; nor does it make use of any other Testimonies to help it self to Credibility, besides those living Testimonies which were picked up in *Italy* by *Terrimannus's* Diligence : His first Witness was one *Rinalducus*, a Citizen of *Picenum*, who, upon his corporal Oath, told *Terrimannus*, he had heard his Grandfather say, he saw the House of *Laureto* in the Air, as it was crossing the *Adriatick Sea* : *Terrimannus's* second and last Witness was one *Francis* a Prior in *Picenum*, who, upon his corporal Oath, swore, that he heard his Grandfather, who lived to the Age of 120, and was in his perfect Senses, affirm, That he had visited the House of *Laureto*, when it stood in the Wood ; and that it afterwards, to his Knowledge, removed to a Hill, which belonged to two Brothers, and did at last remove



to the Hill it now stands upon. Upon these living Testimonies *Terrimannus's* Narrative of the Translation of the House of *Laureto* was soon believed over the whole *Roman Catholick* World: And that so authentick a Narrative might be read by all Pilgrims, above 100 Years after it was first published it was translated into eight Languages, to wit, *Greek, Arabick, Spanish, French, Dutch, Sclavonick, Latin* and *Italian*, and is writ in all those Languages on eight Boards, which are hung up in the House of *Laureto*; and are in truth its highest Antiquities.

If the Reports of Facts are rendered indubitably true by their having been related as Truths by ancient People upon their own certain Knowledge, the Truth of the well known History of the Kingdom of *Fairies* ought not to be any longer doubted of: there being thousands alive that may safely swear, that they have heard their Grandfathers or Grandmothers, or some other antient People, tell all the Tales of that History, upon their own certain Knowledge, and as positively as it was possible for the Grandfathers of *Terrimannus's* two Witnesses, to tell their Tale of the Translations of the *Laureto*. I can see no Reason why the Legend of *Romulus's* Translation should not be believed rather than this of the Translation of the *Laureto*, upon *Proculus's*, who was no obscure Man, having affirmed upon Oath, that he saw *Romulus* up in the Air in Armour, and that when he was there he did

did hear him command his Subjects to call him *Quirinus*, not *Romulus* any more; a single Eye and Ear Witness being worth twenty that swear only to what they were told by their Grandfathers about the *Laureto*.

That the miraculous Translations of the *Laureto* having either never been heard of, or not believed before the Year 1464, is, I think, pretty plain from those Translations not being mentioned in a long Inscription on a Cup of Gold, presented in that Year by Pope *Pius II.* to the Lady of *Laureto*, nor in no other Writings before, relating to that Place; whereas in a few Years after those Translations are spoke of in a Decree published by Pope *Paul II.* and in all the other Papal Instruments which have ever been since concerning that Place. But tho' *Pius*, when he made that Present to the Lady of *Laureto*, did know nothing of the miraculous Translations of her House, yet the Visit which he made to that Image, tho' he took *Laureto* only in his Way to *Ancona*, when he went to that City to concert with the Duke of *Venice*, and some other Princes, the Operations of the Cruzado he had proclaimed, was the first thing that did raise and spread that House's Name; which till that Time, tho' it was above 160 Years after that House is said to have been brought into *Italy*, was confined within the Bounds of its own Neighbourhood, as *Tursellinus* himself acknowledgeth. But the Man that the House of *Laureto* was chiefly beholding to for its high Name, was Pope  
*Paul*

*Paul* II. who being a Cardinal, and at *Ancona*, when *Pius* died there, went with great Speed to the *Laureto* to pray for two things; the one was Health, and the other, that the next might be a good Pope: and the blessed Virgin, if that Cardinal's Word may be taken for it, having appeared to him, she first promised him Health, and did afterwards assure him that he should be chosen Pope at the next Election. Upon those two Promises having been fulfilled to him, *Paul*, in Gratitude, was so wonderfully devoted to the Lady of *Laureto*, that during the whole Time of his Pontificate, happy was the Man that could publish any thing that tended to the advancing of her Worship, and that of her House: And whereas there was not any thing that could have been thought of that could have advanced that Worship so much as a Report of that House's being the very House the blessed Virgin was born and bred in at *Nazareth*; so that was no sooner reported by *Terrimannus*, than *Paul* vouched for the Truth of it, by inserting it into a Papal Decree; tho' no Pope, nor no Man before, besides *Terrimannus*, had ever spoke of any such Thing: And to satisfy the World that *Paul* himself did believe the Story of the miraculous Translations of the House of *Laureto*, he did on their Account grant a plenary Indulgence to all that visited that House, with Faculties to its Priests to absolve People from all the Crimes which are reserved to the Pope; which alone was enough

to bring much Company and rich Offerings to any Place. *Note*, That it was not safe now for Christians to go on Pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*: To satisfy that Superstition, and not to lose the Profits of it, they were assured that the House in the *Holy Land* that was worshipped the most, was now brought by Angels to their Doors, where, by visiting that House, and worshipping it, they would partake of the same Indulgences, as if they had gone to *Nazareth* to worship it. And being sensible that if the Story of the miraculous Translations of that House should once come to be universally believed, that it must become an invaluable Treasure to the Bishop that it was immediately under; *Paul* did for that Reason take it from under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Ancona*, and put it immediately under the Pope, who by that Means became the *Ordinary*, as well as the *Prince* of that Place: And for a standing Monument of his Gratitude to that House, the Foundations of the magnificent and curiously worked Church that is there now were laid by this Pope *Paul*: And tho' he did not live long enough to finish so great a Work, he went on with it apace as long as he lived at a prodigious Charge. So that *Paul II.* may justly be called the Founder of the House of *Laureto*, upon the Story of its miraculous Translations: For the Truth of which Translations, if that Pope had not vouched as soon as they were first spoke of, *Terrimannus's* Narrative of them would have under-



undergone the Fate of many such Stories, which was, not to outlive their Authors.

*Sixtus* IV. who succeeded *Paul*, and his his Nephew, the Cardinal Bishop of *Ancona*, did take care to keep up the Fame of the House of *Laureto* upon the Story of the miraculous Translations *Paul* had settled it. *Sixtus* did not only confirm all the Immunities granted by his Predecessor to that House, but he did also very much enlarge them, and did finish the Church *Paul* had begun: And his Nephew, the Cardinal Bishop of *Ancona*, to satisfy the World, that the House of *Laureto* was certainly brought by Angels from *Nazareth*, did get the Keeping of that House to be committed to the *Carmelite* Friars, as their Right; those Friars having first proved before the Pope, that the Custody of that House, when it was in *Nazareth*, belonged to their Order. The famous *Baptista Mantuanus* was one of those *Carmelite* Friars, who by writing the History of that House, and magnifying it in good *Latin* Verse, did contribute to the spreading its Fame. But the *Carmelites*, notwithstanding their antient Right to it, kept not that House above seven Years, which was time enough to fill the World with the Fame of their having been the Keepers of it, when it was at *Nazareth*: Upon their dying very fast there, by reason of the extraordinary Thickness of its Air, they were commanded by their General to leave it, and remove to Places where the Air was more healthy. By  
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this Means the Keeping of the *Laureto* fell to some *Secular Priests*, who, out of the profound Respect the *Jesuits* have for the *Secular* Clergy, are by *Tursellinus* called *Mercenaries*, as if the *Jesuits* that were there since, did all maintain themselves out of their own Patrimonies.

Pope *Innocent VIII.* presented the House of *Laureto* with costly Sacerdotal Vestments, loaded with rich Jewels : It is not said that *Alexander VI.* ( whose Son *Cæsar Borgia* could never have too much Money, ) did give any thing to the *Laureto* : But his Successor, *Julius II.* did make amends for that ; for having narrowly escaped being torn to Pieces by a Cannon Bullet, that passed thro' his Tent before *Bonomia*, after he had by Force of Arms reduced that, and some other Cities, to the Papal Obedience, he went to *Laureto* ; and having carried the Cannon Bullet, that had missed him so narrowly, along with him, he had it hung up there on the left Side of the Altar, where it hangs to this Day : And to give the *Laureto* a Cast of his Office, (for he had great Skill in Fortifications,) he built a strong Wall about it, and did likewise build several Chapels, so, that if there were Occasion, they would serve very well for Forts. The stately Palace which is in the *Laureto* for the accommodating of the Pope and Sovereign Princes, when they come to visit that House, was likewise begun by *Julius* : It is built in the Form of a Castle, and so situated  
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by that *military* Pope, as to serve for a Fortress to the *Laureto*, if it should be attacked: And to engross the whole Jurisdiction of the *Laureto* to the Papacy, he did strip the City of *Ancona* of the Authority that City formerly had over it; and to bring it to be looked on as a Part of the *Vatican*, he made all its Priests the Pope's Domestick Chaplains, allowing them all the same Privileges; and having erected a great Choir at the *Laureto*, he bestowed a noble Organ upon it, with many other Instruments of Musick.

*Leo X.* confirmed and enlarged the Immunities granted to the *Laureto* by his Predecessors, and having turned it into a Collegiate Church, consisting of twelve Canons and twelve Mansionary Priests, he granted to that Church all the Indulgences that do belong to the Stations of the Churches in *Rome*: And to draw Merchants from all Parts with rich Presents to the *Laureto*, *Leo* discharged all *Fairs* that were about it, and having done that, did settle a *Fair* to be kept constantly at *Ancona* in *September*, on the Day of our Lady's Nativity. *Leo* would never suffer the least Alteration to be made in the House that was brought from *Nazareth*; but, as we shall see presently, his immediate Successor *Clement*, was forced to take another Course with it. The sumptuous Chapel that is in the *Laureto* was begun by *Leo*, and was carried up a great way by him at a prodigious Expence.

*Clement VII.* who was *Leo's* Nephew and immediate Successor, was not behind his Uncle in Benefactions to the *Laureto*: The Chapel *Leo* had begun there was finished by *Clement*, who having been informed by a famous Architect, whose Name was *Nerucius*, that the House of the *Laureto*, if something were not done to it speedily, could not stand long; and that the Roof of its Chapel, which was made of Wood, was in great Danger of being set on Fire by the Multitude of Lamps which were continually burning under it: To prevent those two sad Disasters, *Nerucius* was dispatched to *Laureto* by *Clement*, with a strict Command to do all that was possible to keep that old House upon its Legs: When *Nerucius* was come to *Laureto*, there was not a Mason nor a Day-labourer to be had for Love or Money, to have any Hand in that Work: And it was no wonder, considering how loud till that Time it had been rung into all Peoples Ears, that the House of *Laureto*, which was visibly a weak Building, having stood fourteen hundred Years, without having had any thing done to it by Men, was an undeniable Evidence of its being upheld by a Miracle, and of the Truth of its whole Legend: And so possessed were the People in and about *Laureto* with that Story, that they did all look on the offering it any human Help to keep it up as a very great Affront to it, implying a Disbelief of the Truth of its Legend. But *Nerucius*, who understood Architecture



chitecture well, and the Age of Buildings, having narrowly surveyed that old House all over, was free from that Superstition; and to let the Masons see that they might repair that old House as safely as any other, he took up a Hammer, and gave its Wall a hard Blow with it: That rash Blow had like to have cost him dear, for he had no sooner given it than his Right Hand was seized with a dead Numbness, which got to his Heart so soon, that he fell down dead upon the Spot, and continued so for six Hours; when, by his devout Wife's Prayers and Vows to the House of *Laureto*, he was restored to Life again; but so terrified, that if the Pope would have given him the City of *Rome*, he would not have meddled any more with repairing that House, which was so highly provoked by having any human Assistance offered it: However, the Pope was not it seems so superstitious, who knowing that that old House, let it be as angry as it would, could not stand long, if something were not done to it, engaged a Priest who belonged to the *Laureto*, and was a very good Architect, to go about repairing it; that Priest, whose Name was *Ventura*, would not, after he had undertaken that Work, give any Directions about it, until he had fasted three Days, and made the following Prayer to the House he was to make so bold with. *O sacred House of the Virgin, spare my Innocency; it is not I, but Clement, the Vicar of God, who is to dig up thy Foundations*

*dations*; he is willing to adorn thee, and make some Conveniencies for thy Worshippers; let that please the Mother of God that pleaseth God's Vicar. Upon this Prayer the House did, in obedience to the Pope's Commands, patiently submit to all that *Ventura* ordered to be done about it; who, having first laid open its Foundations, did screw it up whole into the Air with Engines; and having kept it hanging there until he had laid a firm Foundation, he afterwards let the House down, and settled it firmly upon that Foundation; making it as strong as Art, that was not stinted in its Expences, could make it: After that he built an Arch with Marble under the old wooden Roof; and finding the old House did bear all those Alterations and Shakings patiently, to let more Light into its Chapel, he made the little old Window much bigger than it was before; and having stopped up the old Door, which stood very incommodioufly, both for its solemn Service, and its great Numbers of Pilgrims, he made three new Doors in its Walls at convenient Distances. By these great Alterations the Face of the *Laureto* was so changed, that the Grandfathers of *Terrimannus's* two Witnesses, if they were alive, would not take it for the House one of them saw coming over the *Adriatick*, and the other worshipped in three different Places in *Italy*.

But tho' the *Laureto* did submit quietly to the Pope's Commands, as to all these necessary Reparations, it would not do so in all Cases; but,

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as we shall see hereafter, would mutiny against the Papal Orders, and chastise the Persons severely that came to do any thing to it, which it had no mind to have done.

Now considering what had been so confidently given out of the miraculous immutable Estate of that old House, and of its having always disdained all human Helps as Affronts to it; more than a common Address was necessary to divert People from having their Faith in its first Legend shaken, by seeing that which had been the main Evidence of its Truth false in Fact. Of this the *Pope* and his *Architects* were so sensible, that to mollify that Matter, as much as they were able; the giving of a new Roof and new Foundations, and three new Doors to an old House, were by them not called *Repairing* but *Adorning* it: And no sooner were that House's Foundations laid open than loud Reports did bolt out of clearer Evidences having been found under them of that House's having been built at *Nazareth*, than had ever appeared before, that of the old House having continued above fourteen hundred Years without the least Change not excepted. A Story was likewise set about of *Pope Clement's* having sent three of the Gentlemen of his Bedchamber to *Dalmatia*, and to *Nazareth*, for farther Confirmations of that House's having been at both those Places; and that they being returned had brought with them Stones which they had dug out of a Quarry near *Nazareth*,

*reth*, which did very much resemble Brick : It was said they were the same with the Stones the Walls of the *Laureto* were built with, and that there were no such Stones any where else in the World : Now People having been entertained and amused with these Stories, whilst the *Laureto* was repairing, and which was, and is still by all its Creatures, called *only the Adorning of it* ; this great Contradiction to what had been formerly reported and believed concerning the *Laureto*, did pass over with less Prejudice to its high Fame than could well have been expected.

*Clement* having succeeded so well in this bold, but necessary Enterprize, he went upon another that was much more difficult, and which had something in it likewise that reflected not a little on the Credit of the *Laureto's* Legend : It was to mend the Air of that Place, which was so sickly, that in no Town in *Italy* People were subject to so many bad Distempers ; and for the Children that were born in it or near it, few or none of them, if they were not removed to a better Air, did outlive their Infancy.

This extraordinary Badness of its Air was some Reflection on the Skill or Kindness of its Bearers, who, after they had carried it over many healthy Countries, and were able to have carried it farther, had fixed it at last in so unhealthy a Place ; but it was a much greater Reflection on the House it self, which could not have employed its miraculous Power,  
either



either more usefully, or more for its own Worship, than by making the Air more healthy both for old and young: However, since the *Laureto* seemed not to be disposed to do it self that good Office, *Clement* did resolve, if it were possible, to have it done for it; and having been informed by the Physicians, that the Causes of the Badness of that Air were the great Marshes and Woods that were about it, with the two high Mountains that were near it, he dispatched Orders to the *Provost* of that Place to set all Hands to work to drain the Marshes, and to cut down the Woods, leaving the removing of the two Mountains, as a great Nuisance to the *Laureto's* own miraculous Power: But tho' the *Provost* was as zealous as the Pope could be to have mended the Air, and did employ all the poor Pilgrims, that could make no Offerings, and were able to work, in the draining of the Marshes, he was not able to bring that Work to Perfection; so the Air of the *Laureto* continued still sickly, tho', by what had been done, it was something better than it was before; and for the Mountains they continued as they were.

*Paul* III. who succeeded *Clement*, did resume the Work of draining the Marshes, and did also level some small Hills; and having been informed by some skilful Architects, that the old House, Roof, Walls, Steeple, and Chimney, could not stand long, with what *Ventura* had done to them: *Paul*, who was a bold Man,

Man, ordered them all to be pulled down at once, and a strong new House of the same Figure and Dimensions to be built in the same Place where the old House stood ; and that the new House might have the same miraculous Power the old House had, the Materials of the old House were buried under the Pavements of the new : And as if the old House had been *transubstantiated* into the new House, and it had been the *Species*, and not the *Substance* of the old Materials that had been buried, all this was by the *Pope* and his *Architects* called only the *Adorning* of the old House with new Buildings ; and had not this great Alteration had the Misfortune to be soon after recorded in History, before this Time the World would have been faced down, that the House which is now standing in the *Laureto* was the very House, without any Alteration, which was built above fifteen hundred Years before in *Nazareth*. But by the great Plague of Printing Histories, this, and many more useful Impositions, which were before very easie, are now rendered almost impossible, if any thing can be too hard for some Foreheads. Upon a Complaint of the City of *Ancona* of the great Injury had been done them by *Pope Julius*, when he deprived them of the Authority they had over the *Laureto*, and over the Countrey about it, that Authority was restored to them by *Pope Paul*, but with an Exception as to the House of *Laureto*, and all that belonged to it ; and with the following

lowing heavy Conditions : *First*, That they should be obliged to make the *Laureto* as strong as it was capable of being made : *Secondly*, That they should constantly maintain a Garrison in it, sufficient to defend it against the Invasion of the *Turks*, who were, by the Fame of the great Riches of the *Laureto*, made extremely desirous to visit it : *Thirdly*, That they should guard the Roads so well, that the Pilgrims might come and go in Safety ; and whereas Pope *Leo* had expended eight thousand *Aurei* on the fortifying of the *Laureto*, that Money should be paid back by the City of *Ancona* to the Papal Exchequer : But *Ancona* enjoyed not this dear bought Authority very long, it having been taken from them again by Pope *Pius III*, on Pretence that the Fortifications of the *Laureto* were not kept in good Repair by them ; and we are not told that they had the eight thousand *Aurei*, which they had paid into the Papal Exchequer on that Agreement. The Pope's Palace in the *Laureto* was finished and adorned with noble Gates and Statues by this Pope *Paul* ; and having understood that Salt was very scarce in that Place, he assigned to it twenty Sacks of Salt every Year out of the Salt Ponds of *Cervia* ; and being called twice to *Ancona* by publick Business, he visited the *Laureto* both the Times.

About this Time a new Channel was opened for the conveying of Offerings to the *Laureto*, which had not come to it before, or but in  
small

small Quantities; it was to send something or other, naturally of a small intrinsic Value, from the *Laureto* to all that were much devoted to it, but were by Sicknefs, or their great Distance from it, or the Badnefs of its Air, hindered from Visiting it; and as the same miraculous Cures were wrought by those Relicts on all that had them, and worshipped them, as the *Laureto* itself would have done, if they had visited it; so there was all the Reason in the World, that they should make the same or greater Offerings than they would have made to that House, if they had been at the Trouble and at the Expence of a Visit.

*Julius* III. did a great Service to the *Laureto*, by founding in it a College of *Jesuits*, who, tho' they were but twelve at first, did, as soon as they were there, ring the World a louder Peal of the Prodigies and Miracles of the *Laureto* than they had ever heard before: And as it was the frequent Lights which were seen about the *Laureto* in the Night-time (tho' that was no such great Prodigy in so fenny a Country) that first drew the Eyes of the World upon it, so for a whole Night together, soon after the *Jesuits* came to it, great Flashes of Lightning, which resembled Stars, were seen to dart from the *Laureto* to the Mountains that were near it, and to return back again to the *Laureto*; and one Day when a *Jesuit* was preaching in the Church, a great Flash of Lightning was seen in it of an unusual



usual Colour by the whole Congregation ; all which Lightnings were by the *Jesuits* called Heavenly Illuminations, and published as such to the World, to the drawing of a much greater Number of Pilgrims to visit it than were ever seen at it before ; *Ten*, sometimes *Twenty*, sometimes *Thirty* thousand Pilgrims having been together at the *Laureto*, soon after the *Jesuits* were the Trumpeters of its Miracles ; such Bunglers were the *Carmelites* and the *Secular Priests*, who had been there before, to the *Jesuits*. And there not being *Confessors* enough to hear the Confessions of such great Multitudes, and the *Jesuits* being of all others the best *Confessors*, eight and twenty *Jesuits* more were added to the twelve, who were before in the *Laureto* ; and who being composed of all Christian Nations, have by speaking the Languages of all the Pilgrims, ingrossed the confessing of them all to themselves.

*Pius V.* was a great Benefactor to the *Laureto*, by giving his infallible Testimony to the Truth of its miraculous *Translations*, which he did by Printing the Figure of that House on the *Agnus Dei's*, which he consecrated, with this Inscription about them ; *Vera domus florida, quæ fuit in Nazareth ; The true flourishing House, which was in Nazareth* : Now unless they will say that the old House of the *Laureto* was *transubstantiated* into the new which was built by *Paul III.* this Testimony of *Pius's* must be false. In this Pope's Time the famous

famous Statues of the twelve *Sybils*, and many more, were set up in the *Laureto*.

*Gregory XIV.* when he proclaimed a *Jubilee* in the Year 1575, pass'd the greatest Complement upon the *Laureto*, that was ever pass'd before by a Pope upon any Place: For, whereas, to draw all devout People to *Rome* in the Year of the *Jubilee*, the Indulgences, which have been granted by the Popes to other Places, are all suspended for that Year; *Gregory*, that the *Laureto* might not be deserted by Pilgrims, did except its Indulgences, which were, during the Time of the *Jubilee*, to remain in their full Force; and by that Means, and by the Pope's having ordered all the Roads to the *Laureto* to be mended, there was a greater Conflux of Pilgrims to it in that *Jubilee* Year, than was ever in any Year before; neither had *Rome* much Cause to complain of this Indulgence to the *Laureto*, both those Places having been visited that Year by all or most of the rich Pilgrims; and for the poor ones that come as Beggars, *Rome* would not envy them their going to the *Laureto*.

*Sixtus V.* who was born not very far from the *Laureto*, was very kind to it; for by him the *Laureto* was erected into a City, and an Episcopal See, and a Mountain that was near it, called *Mount Royal*, was levelled by him, and spacious Streets built on the Ground where it had stood.

*Clement VIII.* enlarged all the Indulgences granted by his Predecessors to the *Laureto* on certain *Festivitis*, to the whole Year; and did order the eighth of *December* the Day whereon the House of *Nazareth* was set down in that Place, to be observed as a *Festivity* all over that Country. It is the Day of our Lady's Conception, which was a Secret till the eleventh Century, when it was revealed to an *English* Monk at Sea, in a most dreadful Storm. But as late as the Discovery of the Day of this Conception was, the Discovery of its being *Immaculate*, or without any Stain of Original Sin, was above two hundred Years later; *Scotus*, who lived in the fourteenth Century, being the first Man who ever affirmed it: By the good Fortune this new Doctrine had in the *Roman* Church, the World may learn not to wonder at two Things; the one is, That a Doctrine which is notoriously new should become the Idol Doctrine of that Church; the other is, That the *Papish* Writers, and especially the *Jesuits*, should boldly and magisterially affirm a Doctrine, that is palpably new, to have been always the Doctrine of the Christian Church, and should misconstrue the Fathers, *Greek* and *Latin*, so as to force them, in Contradiction to their plain Belief, to bear Testimony to it.

Here we see what the Popes, in a long Succession, have done to impose on the *Christian World* the Belief of the miraculous Translations of the House of the *Laureto*; tho' at the  
 same

same Time it is not easie for any one that knows the Penetration and Sagacity of those Men to think, that there was one among them all that did ever believe one Tittle of those Translations; and tho' such Behaviour is not common, it is no Miracle in a Body that believes the Devising and Supporting of *Pious Frauds* to be not only Lawful, but Meritorious: But have not they, in the mean while, a fine Time of it, who, to their great Cost and Trouble, do implicitly believe all that is told them by Men that are avowedly of that Principle; and if such an *Implicit Faith* as this be the *Safest Faith* that is, as it is said by many to be, the safest Way to Heaven must be by the Ways of Lies and Fallhood; for pious Frauds, if they be not *Lies*, are no Frauds at all.

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*A Sample of the Great Riches of the*  
**L A U R E T O.**

**T**Here was an Image of the blessed Virgin in the *Laureto*, which, with an hundred more in other Places, was said to have wrought Prodigies many Years before its miraculous Translations were ever heard of: The Prodigies that first caused it to be taken notice of, were the frequent Lights that were seen about it in the Night, which were something the less prodigious for its standing among  
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Fens: And as no Images had the Name of working Prodigies sooner than Offerings were made to it, so the *Laureto* had undoubtedly some Offerings brought to it before its miraculous Translations were ever dreamt of; but they were so inconsiderable, that there is not one of them remaining, besides the Cup of Gold that was offered to that Image by Pope *Pius II.* in the Year 1464, which was within five or six Years of the Time when the Legend of its Translations was hatch'd: Whereas ever since those Translations were spoke of and believed, rich Presents have flowed daily from all Parts to that House, and do remain in it as standing Testimonies of its Translations having been either never heard of, or not believed before; for if they had, there must have been Presents in it of an older Date than any are to be met with there. It would be an endless Work to enumerate all the Presents that have been made since that Time to the *Laureto*, in Money, Lands, rich Clothes and Vestments; and for that reason I will not mention them here particularly; but will only set down the *Presents* which have been made to that House, since its miraculous Translations were believed, by Popes, Cardinals and Princes of both Sexes, in Jewels, and in Gold and Silver, which, tho' very considerable, are but a Sample of the Presents of the same Sort that have been made to that House.

*Julius II.* presented the *Laureto* with a Silver Cross, curiously gilt, that weighed forty

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Pound, and with a pair of Silver Candlesticks that weighed six and twenty.

*Leo X.* presented it with a pair of gilt Silver Candlesticks that weighed fifty Pound. The customary Presents made by Popes to *Queens* being a *Rose of Gold*, *Gregory XIII.* presented the Lady of the *Laureto* as the *Queen of Heaven*, with a Gold Rose, in a Box of the same Metal, valued at a thousand *Aurei*.

The Cardinal of *Trani* presented the *Laureto* with the Image of the blessed Virgin in Silver. The Cardinal of *Carpi* presented it with a large Crucifix, with the Images of the Blessed Virgin and of *St. John*, with a pair of Candlesticks, and with a Chalice all in Silver. The Cardinal of *Austria* present the Lady of *Laureto* with Cloaths made of Cloth of Gold, with a Necklace of an hundred and fifty large Pearls, and a Pendant of Gold set with rich Diamonds. The Cardinal *Quatuor Coronatorum* presented the *Laureto* with an Head in Silver. The Cardinal of *Urbini* presented it with a large Cross, and a pair of Candlesticks in Silver, with a moveable Altar made of Diamonds, with two Chalices of Gold. The Cardinal of *Austria* presented it with a pair of Candlesticks made of solid Ebony, set thick with Diamonds. The Cardinal *Sfondrato* presented it with the Image of the Blessed Virgin in Silver. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* presented it with a Cross of Christal, with Christ upon it in Gold, and with a Golden Chalice with a Foot of Christal, and  
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with a pair of Candlesticks, two Basons and a Ewer, and a Holy Water Pot and Brush, all made of Gold and Chrystal, valued at three thousand *Aurei*. Cardinal *Resficucius* presented it with the Blessed Virgin in Silver. The Cardinal *Montalto* presented it with his own and his Brother's Pictures in Silver, which weighed an hundred and forty Pounds. The Cardinal *Abaltamps* presented with the Picture of a Boy, that was his Kinsman, in Silver. The Cardinal *Este* presented it with a Heart made of Gold. The Cardinal *Riarius* presented it with a Cross made of Gold. The Cardinal *Madrucius* presented it with a large Button made of Gold, with three Clusters of Diamonds upon it. The Cardinal of *Austria* presented it with a Cross made of Gold, standing on a Mountain of the same Metal, adorned with rich Jewels. The Cardinal *Sanctæ Praxedis* presented it with his own Picture in Silver.

*Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans* presented the *Laureto* with the Picture of the Blessed Virgin in Silver, that weighed one and thirty Pound, with the Queen of *Bohemia* at her Feet worshipping her. The Duke of *Guise*, to make himself popular in *France*, visited the *Laureto*, and threw eight thousand *Aurei* into its Treasury ; and gave it besides two Silver Lamps of a prodigious Bigness. King *Henry III.* to countermine that Duke, if it were possible, did send a most noble Present to the *Laureto*, with an humble Supplication to it for a Son ;



The *Present* was a Cup cut out of a Saphire of a prodigious Bigness, its Cover was a Chrystal laded with rich Jewels, and on the Cover stood an Angel made of Gold, holding a *Flower-de-Luce* in his Hand, composed of three Diamonds, curiously joined together; the Foot of the Cup was an Emerald gilt, thick set with rich Jewels and Union Pearls; but tho' that King never had any Children, the *Laureto* never restored that Present. The Duke of *Bavaria* presented it with a Cross made of Emeralds standing on a Mountain of Chrystal, valued at a thousand *Aurei*. *Amadeus* of *Savoy* presented it with his own Picture gilt in Silver, and thick set with Jewels. *Filbert* Duke of *Savoy*, to let the World see that he was a King, presented it with his own Picture in Gold and with a Crown and Scepter in Gold, of ten Pound Weight. *Bassamus*, Duke of *Mantua*, presented it with his own Picture in Silver. The Duke of *Parma* presented it with a Cross of Gold. The Duke of *Florence* presented it with a Galley and Oars made of Silver. The Duke of *Ferrara* presented it with his own Picture in Silver. *Catharine de Medicis*, Queen of *France*, presented it with a Silver Lamp of a prodigious Bigness, with a perpetual Endowment to furnish it with Oil. The Queen of *Hungary* presented it with her own Picture in Silver. The Dutchess of *Lorrain* presented it with a Heart and a Collar of Gold, with a Crown made of Pearl, and a Necklace of Diamonds. *Joanna of Austria*,



*stria*, Dutcheſs of *Florence*, preſented it with two Hearts made of Gold, in two Saucers of the ſame Metal, with a large Crucifix in Silver, and a large Croſs of Ebony, with four maſſy Silver Candleſticks, and with coſtly Clothes richly adorned with Jewels. *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Dutcheſs of *Parma*, did throw a great Sum of Gold into its Cheſt; and ſo did *Don John* of *Auſtria*, when he viſited it, with ſo ſingular a Devotion, as made him the Idol of Popiſh Bigots in all Parts, but chiefly in *England*, whoſe Crown was ſoon after given him by the Pope. The Princeſs of *Vaſtalla* preſented it with her own and her Prince's Picture in Gold, and with two Hearts in Gold, that weighed ſix Pound. The Princeſs of *Baſiniani* preſented it with a Dragon in Gold, curiouſly variegated with rich Jewels, valued at ſeven thouſand *Aurei*. I ſhall mention but one Preſent more, and that for the Managery there was about it. After the miraculoſus Tranſlations of the *Laureto* were believed, the neighbouring Cities went once a Year proceſſionally to viſit it; and to obſerve the *Eastern* Cuſtom towards the *Eastern* Object of Adoration, they open'd their Way to it with Crowns of Silver, from two to ſeven Pound Weight; this Cuſtom continued until there were threeſcore and ten Crowns of Silver in the *Laureto*, when its Officers reckoning that the multiplying of ſuch Crowns yearly would neither be any great Advantage, nor any great Honour to their Houſe, they made a Bargain

with the Cities to lend them one of the best of the Crowns, which they had given, to offer up yearly to the *Laureto*, paying them a certain Sum of current Money for the Loan of it.

Besides the immense dead Treasure in Jewels, Gold and Silver, and costly Clothes and Vestments that is in the *Laureto*, there is a great Treasure of current Money; for since the *Jesuits* were its *Factors*, there have been in some Years ten, in others sixteen, in others twenty thousand *Aurei* thrown into its Treasury by Pilgrims: Of this Treasure the Pope is Lord no less than he would be if it were laid up in the *Vatican*, of which they would have the *Laureto* to be reckoned a Part: Some Money was drawn out of this Treasury by Pope *Leo*, and by his Nephew Pope *Clement*, who were both said to have paid it back again.

*Of the Miracles which are said to have been wrought by the LAURETO.*

**I**F the *Laureto's Heralds* may be believed, its Miracles are numberless: I shall mention only a few of the most remarkable, by which the Reader may be enabled to pass a true Judgment on all the rest. The working of Miracles was at that Time believed to be so common a Thing that no Popish Country was without Multitudes of Images or Relicks that wrought them; but

but unless an Image were believed to have a Power of working, which could be wrought no where else, it would not so well have carried its Name beyond the narrow Bounds of its Neighbourhood, so as to draw Pilgrims and Offerings to it from Places at any great Distance: for which reason one of the first Miracles, that is said to have been wrought by the *Laureto* after the News of its Translations, had its Eye directly on the helping that House to the Fame of so singular a Power.

The Story was as follows: One *Antonia*, the Wife of *Peter Orgentorix*, a rich Citizen of *Grenoble*, being possessed with seven of the worst and sturdiest of Devils, tho' she had been carried by her kind Husband for Help to all the Places in *France*, famous for miraculous Cures, could meet with none at any of them; however, *Peter* hoping that there might be some Place in *Italy* that was more powerful to cast out Devils, he carried his Wife first to St. *Julius* in *Milan*, and afterwards to St. *Germinianus* in *Modena*, and at last to the holy *Pillar* in *Rome*, but to no manner of Purpose; not one of the seven Devils that were in *Antonia* having ever been in the least moved by all the Exorcisms in those Places: So poor *Peter* despairing of a Cure, was ready to carry his Wife back to *France*, in as bad a Condition as he brought her out of it: But having, before he left *Rome*, had the good Luck to meet a Knight of *Rhodes*, who was much devoted to the *Laureto*, he was ad-



vised by that Knight to carry his Wife to that House, where he assured him Miracles were wrought which were wrought no where else ; upon this welcome Intelligence away went *Peter* immediately with his Wife to *Laureto*, where being held in the Chapel by ten Gigantick Men, she was exorcised by a Priest whose Name was *Stephen* ; with his very first Exorcism *Stephen* carried a great Point, having forced all the seven Devils by it to tell him their Names ; but they were so strangely pertinacious, that tho' he called them all by their Names to come out of *Antonia*, not one of them would stir : *Stephen's* Constancy in exorcising did at last conquer the Obstinacy of four of those Devils, who rushed out of *Antonia*, filling the House with a most hideous Noise : The other three, who were stronger and sturdier, did not budge, until *Stephen* began to exorcise *Antonia* in *Mary's Name only*, whereas before he had exorcised her in *God and Mary's Name together* ; the fifth Devil, whose Name was *Heroth*, being vanquished with these Exorcisms, flew out of *Antonia*, saying to *Stephen* at parting, *It is not thou, but Mary, that hath cast me out of this Woman*. The sixth Devil, whose Name was *Horrible*, began to whine, and having in a lamentable Note cried out, *Mary, Mary, thou art too cruel to us*, away he went likewise. The seventh Devil, whose Name was *Arcto*, began to groan, and having roared out, *Mary, thou art too powerful in this Place to drive us out of our Possessions*,



sions : He would gladly have departed, if *Stephen* would have suffered him ; but since *Arcto* had complained of the singular Vertue of of that Place, *Stephen* was resolv'd before he would let him go, to extort from him the whole Truth of its Legend : So he ask'd *Arcto* what Place that was ? *Arcto*, much against his Will, made Answer, *In this Chamber the Mother of God received the Message that was brought to her by the Archangel Gabriel : Stephen* being very desirous to know in what Part of the Chamber *Mary* stood when she received the Angelical Salutation, and where the Angel stood when he spoke it : *Arcto*, much against the Grain, answered, *Mary stood in the Corner that is by the Right Side of the holy Chimney*, in which Place, upon this Information, the Bench was set up, on which the Pilgrims do kneel ; and that *Gabriel*, out of the profound Veneration he had for her, did stand in the Corner opposite to it, upon the Right Side of the Window. *Stephen* overjoyed at his having got all this out of *Arcto*, he dismissed him, but *Arcto* did leave *Antonia* with so great a Violence, that he threw her down dead upon the Pavement ; *Antonia* being quickly fetched to Life again, she and her Husband returned a thousand Thanks to the *Laureto*, for a Cure she had not been able to meet with any where else, neither was she ever after molested by any of those Devils. A Fact that raised the miraculous Power of the *Laureto* so high above what was to be met with in any other Place

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(*Rome* itself not excepted) did stand in need of good Vouchers; and for that Reason *Mantuanus* saith, that he was an Eye-witness of it; and being himself a *Carmelite* Friar, he adds, that *Arcto* being asked, *to whom the keeping of that House had belonged, when it was in Nazareth?* He answered, *It belonged to the Carmelites:* And *Angelita*, who writ the History of the *Laureto*, affirms, that his Father had likewise said, that he was an Eye-witness of that Miracle; which Testimony, to do it Justice, is stronger than those of *Terrimannus's* two Witnesses, which they had by Hearsay from their two very old Grandfathers.

Another Miracle that is said to be wrought by the *Laureto* soon after its miraculous Translations, was a strange Miracle indeed; but it had one thing in it that was not strange, which was its having the Confirmation of the Truth of the Legend of the *Laureto* directly in its Eye: That useful Miracle was, that a certain *Dalmatian Priest* having been made a Captive by the *Turks*, and vehemently urged by them to renounce his Faith, was still calling on the *Laureto* to strengthen him against that Temptation; and being asked by the *Turks*, where that *Laureto* was he invoked so much? He answered, *It was in his Bowels, and that it would never suffer him to change his Religion:* If it be there, said the *Turks*, it shall soon be removed; and having torn out the Priest's Bowels, and thrown them upon the Ground, they asked him whereabouts the *Laureto* was

in them? He answer'd nothing, but to their great Confusion, if not Conversion, stooped down, did take all his Bowels up with his Hand, and ran away with them in it over a great Tract of Land, and over the *Adriatick* Sea; and having brought them in his Hand to the *Laureto*, and offered them up there with great Devotion, he gave up the Ghost: Those Bowels were hung up near the Chapel of the *Laureto*, and did hang there till they rotted; but that the Memory of so strange and useful a Miracle might be preserved, the Picture of those Bowels were drawn upon a Board, and hung up in the *Laureto*, where they are to this Day shewed to all Pilgrims. And that it might not be in the Power of succeeding Ages to doubt of the Truth of this Miracle, *Turfellinus* writes, that in his Days there were several alive, who had spoke with People that had seen the Bowels themselves hanging up by the Chapel; but that they were removed from thence to another Place of that House, by reason of the Pilgrims staring so much upon them, that they were not so attentive in their Devotions, as they otherwise would have been.

A certain *Genoese*, who, according to what the *Italians* say of his Country, had not much Religion, did say one Day in Discourse, as he was on a Journey, that *the Laureto was no ancient Monument of the blessed Virgin's, but a new Invention of Superstition and Avarice*. On the same Day that he said that, he had a Fall  
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from his Horse, and had never risen again if he had not called on the *Laureto* for Help; but so desperate an Unbeliever was this *Genoese*, that tho' he was helped by the *Laureto* up upon his Horse, he was no sooner upon him than he began to doubt of the Truth of its Legend: Upon that he was immediately struck Stone-blind, and deprived of all his other Senses; but having sate his Horse however, tho' he knew not how to govern him, his Horse carried him directly to the *Laureto*; where having made a solemn Vow never to doubt any more of the Truth of that House's miraculous Translations, his Senses were all perfectly restored, and he did continue all his Days a firm and most devout Believer of that Story.

The *Carmelites*, notwithstanding their ancient Right to the keeping of the *Laureto*, having left it, on the Account of the Badness of its Air; the *Franciscans*, who are commonly a meaner and a hardier Sort of People, and withal so much more numerous, that for the Advantage of their Order, they can afford to sacrifice twenty of their Friars Lives to a bad Air better than the *Carmelites* can spare one, do seem to have laid in for the Keeping of that House; and to that end, a learned and devout *Franciscan Friar*, being very sickly, went for a Cure to the *Laureto*, where he had not prayed long for Health, before the blessed *Virgin* appeared to him, and bid him pray for something else, for that was granted already:



already : So dull was that *Franciscan*, that he did not make use of that Opportunity to pray that his Order might have the Keeping of the *Laureto* ; but being contented with his Health's being perfectly restored, after having published his Vision and what had been said to him in it, and given solemn Thanks to the *Laureto* for his Recovery, he returned home so well, that the World could not but see that the *Franciscans*, if the Keeping of the *Laureto* were committed to their Custody, would have no Reason to leave it, as the *Carmelites* had done, on the Account of the Sickliness of its Air ; seeing, in defiance of that bad Air, and all its ill Influences, they should have their Health restored and preserved by the miraculous Power of that House : But the Report of this Vision and miraculous Cure not having been found sufficient to do that Business ; after four Years the same *Friar* was so cruelly persecuted by Devils, that he was obliged to go for Succour to the *Laureto* again, where the blessed Virgin appeared to him the second Time ; and having bid him be of good Courage, promised him an entire Victory over all the Devils that had tormented him ; but tho' that Victory was gained as soon as it was promised, he died so soon after it, that he sung his Triumph for it in Heaven ; but was neither there nor at the *Laureto* able to obtain the Keeping of that House for his Order.

A *Curtesan*, who had got a great Estate in Money and Jewels at *Venice*, having resolved to go home to her own Country, (which was *Sicily*) and to take the *Laureto* in her way ; as she was going thither, she fell into the Hands of a Troop of *Banditi* ; who having cut her Throat from Ear to Ear, robbed her of all her Money and rich Jewels : But she having with her last Breath called on the *Laureto* for help ; the blessed *Virgin* appeared to her, and having with her Hand gently stroaked her Throat, her Wind-pipe closed it self again, and the Wound was perfectly cured : For the Truth of this Miracle, the Officers of the *Laureto* had not only that *Curtesan*'s own Tale, when she came to them all in Rags ; but the Scar that remained upon her Throat, was of a Colour, that demonstrated the Cure of the Wound to have been miraculous.

The Duke of *Urbino* being in a War with Pope *Leo*, his Army had resolved to have plundered the *Laureto* ; and as they were marching towards it, with that Intention, their Scouts were all worried by a Battalion of huge dreadful Wolves, that sallied out of a Wood upon them : But so desperately was that Army set on committing that Sacrilege, that notwithstanding that great Slaughter, they advanced still towards the *Laureto*, with the same Intention, until a panick Fear did seize on them, so that they all ran away from that House with an incredible Precipitation :

tation : However, Pope *Leo* did not, it seems, care to trust the great Treasure of the *Laureto* any longer, only with a Guard of Wolves and panick Fears, but did join to them strong Bulwarks, and a good Garrison.

Whereas the old House of the *Laureto*, after the Legend of its miraculous Translations was believed, would in a short time have been all carried away by Piece-Meal, if its devout Pilgrims had been all gratify'd ; to prevent the filching of its Materials, miraculous Punishments were said to have been inflicted on all that had attempted to do it : The Bishop of *Conimbra*, for having had a small Stone taken out of its Walls, to carry with him to *Portugal*, is said to have been plagued so, though he had the Pope's express Order for it, that he was glad to send that Stone back again to the *Laureto*, where it was restored to its Place, with a Solemnity that was sufficient to terrifie all others from ever offering to carry away with them any thing that belonged to that House.

A certain Man, whose name is spared, (as the *Genoeses*, the *Dalmatian* Priest's and the *Curtesan's* Names are) had under his own Hand given himself to the Devil ; but, tho' he was soon after much troubled for what he had done, he was never able to extort that Note from the Devil, until he went to the *Laureto*, where, as he was praying in the Chapel for it, the Devil dropped it into his Hand, and did never after molest him.

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A *Spanish Priest*, who had been all over the *Indies*, having gone to visit the *Laureto*, told *Tursellinus*, when he was there, that tho' he had visited the *Guadalupe* and the *Monserat*, he had never found the divine *Numen*, or *Divinity*, so sensibly in them as he had felt it in that House : This Preference of *Laureto* by a *Spanish Priest*, was so acceptable to that House, that it bestowed a Miracle on perfecting the Present he made to it : For the rich Damask Hangings, which he gave to its Chapel, being much too short for its Walls, when they were put up, were miraculously woven to a just Length by the next Morning, to the great Amazement of all who had seen them the Day before.

This Preference of the *Laureto*, made by a *Spanish Priest*, to all the Miracle working Places in his own Country, was likely enough to have done that House a new and very great Honour, by bringing the Kings and Queens of *Spain*, who, to the Wonder of all Men, had never made any Offering to that House, to dispatch rich Presents to it immediately ; seeing that singularity in the *Spanish Princes* could be nothing else but their Unwillingness to do any thing whereby they might acknowledge the *divine Numen*, or *Divinity*, to be any where more powerfully than it was in several Places within their Dominions : Whether the Officers of the *Laureto's* publishing this Story had that Effect or not, I cannot tell ; but one may venture, I think, to say, that if it had  
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not. It was defeated as to its main Design.

I shall not trouble the Reader, whether he believes, or does not believe the Legend of the *Laureto*, with any more of its Miracles: The forementioned, if he believes them all, being enough to confirm him in that Belief; and if he does not believe them, a thousand more could not make him less ashamed of his not believing that Legend: But there is one thing in the Course of that House's Miracles so strange, that I cannot but take Notice of it here; it is, that among all the Miracles that that House is said to have wrought for the Advancement of its own Fame and Worship, and the Benefit of its Keepers, it should not have bestowed one Miracle on the curing of the extraordinary Sickliness of its Air, without putting its Friends, to the great Expence of trying to drain its Fens with small Success; for it cannot but be a Reflection upon that House, that where one of its Keepers or Neighbours are said to have had their Health restored, or their Days prolonged by its miraculous Power, thousands of them, have had them much impaired and shortned by the extraordinary Sickliness of its Air. And as no Pope ever went near the *Laureto*, that was not called by one publick Business or another into its Neighbourhood, nor ever made any stay at it: So secular Princes, when they had any Business in *Italy* which they did not care the World should be acquainted with, have

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many times given out for a Blind, that they went thither only to pay their Devotions to the *Laureto*; to which Conveniency the *Laureto* perhaps in a good Measure owes the keeping up of its Fame among Princes that are not Bigots or Superstitious to the last Degree, of which Bigotry there cannot be a clearer Proof than the believing of the Legend of that House, and the sending Presents to it purely out of Devotion; the Extremity of which Credulity is, in my Mind, better expressed by *Credat Papista Laureto* than by *Credat Judeus Apella*; and I think the Credulity of the Heathens, tho' they had believed *Ovid's Metamorphoses* to have been all true Stories, would not have exceeded the Credulity of the Papists in believing the Legend of the *Laureto*.

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### REMARKS on the Legend of the LAURETO.

REmarks might easily be made upon an hundred Passages in that Legend, which are all plain Indications of its being a cunningly devised, tho' an ill-formed Fable; but I shall leave those Passages to be felt by all that read it, and have their feeling about them in such Matters; and shall only take Notice of a few Things which do not appear upon the bare reading its Legend.

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1<sup>st</sup>. Tho' from the Rise of the Monkish Superstition, in placing a great deal of Merit in the visiting of the Places which our blessed Lord honoured with his bodily Presence, the City of *Nazareth* has still been visited as one of the chief of those Places; there is not for all that one Writer that says, that the same individual House in which the blessed *Virgin* was born, bred, and lived in, was remaining still in that City; which was a Thing, that if it had been believed, (tho' it had not been true,) the World must, thro' several Ages, have heard of with both its Ears, and especially after the *Holy Land* was conquered by the *Western* Christians: St. *Jerom* indeed calls the City of *Nazareth Nutriculam Domini*, but he has not a Word of any such House's being still in that City.

2<sup>dly</sup>. Whereas the Building that was at the *Laureto* is said to have been brought from *Nazareth* to *Dalmatia* in the Year 1291, and from *Dalmatia* to *Italy* in the Year 1294, and to have been, as soon as it was set down in them, visited by vast Multitudes of Pilgrims from all Parts, and to have had great and solemn Embassies sent from both those Countries to *Nazareth*, and that by both those Embassies undeniable Evidences were brought into *Europe* of the Truth of that House's miraculous Translations; yet, notwithstanding all this great Noise and Bustle, that is said to have been on that Occasion, the miraculous Translations of that House are no where mentioned

by any Writer within 160 Years of that Time, tho' during it there were a great many Writers in *Italy*, and who did write on Subjects, that if they had but heard any thing of those miraculous Translations, (tho' they had not believed them) would certainly have spoke of them, as all *Italians* have done, that have written on the same Subjects, since the Time of *Terrimannus's* Narrative, which was devised and published about the Year 1460. So *Blondus*, who writ about 100 Years after the Time when those miraculous Translations are said to have been, tho' he speaks of the *Laureto*, and of an Image in its Chapel, which, with an hundred more in other Places, was said to work Miracles, has not one Syllable of those Translations, neither does there remain any Offering made to that Chapel during all that Time, that bears Testimony to any such Thing.

3dly. The Frame of the Building that was in the *Laureto*, when the Legend of its miraculous Translations was first devised, was such as plainly demonstrated it not to have been built for a Dwelling-house, but for a Chapel, with a Chimney in it for the Use of the *Hermit* that lived in there to look after it : And as such solitary Chapels are still very common in all Popish Countries, so there never were so many Arts and Tricks used by any sort of People, as are made use of by those *Hermits* to advance the Credit of their lonely Chapels, to bring Pilgrims and Offerings to them ;



them : And what was it but that old Building in the *Laureto* not having the Face of a Dwelling for a Family, that did oblige some of that Chapel's first Advocates for to say, that it was not *Joachim's*, the blessed Virgin's Father's whole House, but only one Room of it.

4thly. The old Building that was in the *Laureto* having had, since the Time of the Legend of its miraculous Translations, so much Cost and Skill bestowed upon it to keep it up, seems to be a Demonstration of that Building's not having stood 1300 Years in *Nazareth*, nor no where else, without having had any thing done to it by Men ; unless they will say that that old Building had lost the miraculous Power of preserving it self since it came into *Italy*, which I suppose they will not acknowledge, since one would think that should have been the last miraculous Power that it would have kept : For soon after the Report of that Building's having stood in *Nazareth* above 1300 Years, without having had any thing done to it, it had a strong brick Wall built to hold it up ; and after that the *Pope* having been informed by skilful Architects, that if something more were not done to it, its old Walls and Roof could not stand long ; they gave it a new Foundation and a new Stone Roof to support its old Roof and Walls : And at last, when the *Pope* was told that the old Building could not be kept up much longer by any thing that could be done to it, that old Building was all taken

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down and buried, and a strong new Chapel was built in the Place where it stood. And as the Persons by whom all those *Buttresses*, *Repairs*, and *new Buildings* were made, were all sensible of their being scurvy Reflections on the Truth of the Legend of that Building, which is positive that it disdained all humane Helps, so their Managery of those Matters plainly discovers, that, tho' they would impose that Legend on the Belief of the World, that they did not believe a Word of it themselves. And when the strong Brick Wall was built to hold up that old Chapel, tho' it was joined to it as close as a new Wall can be to an old, it was confidently given out that the old Wall disdaining all human Helps had not suffered the new Wall to touch it; tho' to the Eye, they were as close together as two Walls could be. And afterwards when it had new Foundations and a new Roof given it, to support its old Roof and old Walls, and at last when it was all taken down, and a new Chapel built in its Place, the doing of all this was not, nor is not to this Day, called the *Repairing* or *New building*, but only *Adorning* it, as if they would force the World to believe, that the Substance of the old Building was *transubstantiated* into the Substance of the new. So dangerous a Thing it is to ground miraculous Reports on things which are with Time capable of confuting those Reports by ocular Demonstrations, which is plainly the Case of the *Laureto*: And for that Reason a much greater Confidence is necessary to the  
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supporting the Credit of such a Legend; than is needful to support the Credit of the false Reports of a thousand Miracles which were of a transient Nature: But how prodigious soever that Confidence must be, by the Fate of the *Laureto* we do see plainly, that it is not impossible for some Men to be Masters of it.

*Lastly*, Tho' it might well be expected that a Thing of so prodigious a Nature as the Translations of the *Laureto* should, before it was believed, have had indubitable Testimonies of its Truth: This was so far from being the Case of this Prodigy, that the Testimonies it was believed upon were such as no Man durst offer in any Court of Judicature for Evidences in any Case, tho' never so common: All the Testimonies this Prodigy was believed upon were the *Hearsays* of two obscure Men, who swore that they had heard their *Grandfathers* say, when they were very old, that the House of the *Laureto* was in their Time miraculously translated from one Place to another: And for those two Men's having sworn that *Hearsay* from their two doting *Grandfathers* we have only *Terrimannus's* Word, who was the first Deviser of the miraculous Translations of the *Laureto*; for their Oaths are not recorded in any Court of Judicature, neither is it said that those Oaths were taken judicially.

I shall close these Remarks, with the Argument, wherewith *Baronius* triumphs over the Story of Pope *Joan*; seeing, that Argument is much stronger, when apply'd to the



Story of the *Laureto*. *Marianus Scotus*, who lived 230 Years after the Time, when Pope *Joan* is said to have sat in the *Roman See*, being the first Writer that speaks of her, *Barionus* from that Silence peremptorily concludes her Story to be a meer Fable, and will have that Silence to be a greater Prodigy, than such a Pope would have been, and to be more than a Thousand sworn Witnesses to prove it to have been a meer Invention. *Majus Portentum videri potest, inquit Baronius, tale Monstrum ducentorum & triginta annorum curriculo potuisse latere, ignorari atque penitus jacuisse sepultum, quam quod aliquando esse potuerit.* i. e. “ That such a “ Monster as a Female Pope, should not be “ heard of, and lie hid and be entirely buried “ in Silence, for the space of two hundred and “ thirty Years, may seem to be a greater Prodigy, than that at some time or other there “ should have been such a Monster. And so full is *Baronius* with this Argument, that he repeats it again soon after, in the Words following. *Silentium ipsum tanti temporis, de re tanta, plus quam mille dixeris testes, ad certam exploratamq; fidem faciendam de fabula vanitate & falsitate.* i. e. “ Silence about “ so strange a Thing, for so long a time, may “ be said to be more than a Thousand sworn “ Witnesses, to prove the vanity and falshood “ of that Fable. To apply this Argument to the *Laureto*; what is the Silence of 230 Years, about a prodigious Thing, to the Silence of



1400, about a thing that is much more Prodigious? And if that first short Silence may be justly called a greater Prodigy than such a *Pope* would have been, and a stronger Evidence of there having never been any such *Pope*, than the Testimony of a Thousand sworn Witnesses; how much a greater Prodigy must this latter Silence be, and an Evidence of the Story of the *Laureto's* being a Fable, beyond the Testimony of seven thousand sworn Witnesses: For though I will not deny, that it is a very strange thing that a Woman should come to be *Pope*, nor that so long a Silence about her is a strong Argument of there having never been any such Person: Yet certainly, a weak Building, having stood in the Eye of the World, above thirteen hundred Years, without having had any thing done to it to keep it up; and having after that time, been carried whole and entire from the Place where it had stood so long, through the Air, above a thousand Miles; and soon after over a Sea, that was an hundred Miles broad; is a thing yet much more prodigious: And that after all those miraculous Translations, and Peoples having flocked from all Parts to worship that House, and having sent two solemn Embassies to the City from whence it was brought, for Proofs of its having been miraculously translated from thence; that Translation should never be mentioned by any Writer, in the space of an hundred and sixty Years, though there were a great many during that time, and who  
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writ on Subjects, which led them to have spoke of it; that long Silence about it, must be an Evidence of its being a Fable, equal to the Testimony of five hundred sworn Witnesses, to the Confusion of *Terrimannus's* two sworn Witnesses, who swore only upon *hearsay* from their two old *Grandfathers*.

Now had *Baronius* but kept constant to this Argument, whose Strength was so sensibly felt by him as to the Story of Pope *Joan*, he could not possibly have believed the Legend of the *Laureto*, nor of an hundred Stories more, which he said he believed; or whether he did or not, he maintained, in Defiance of this Argument, to the Swelling of his Annals to so great a Bulk. And had Pope *Joan's* Story been a thing for the Advantage of the *Roman* See; That two hundred and thirty Years Silence about it, would have had but very little Weight with *Baronius*, against the positive Testimony of *Marianus Scotus*, and of all, or most Ecclesiastical Historians in four or five hundred Years after him with very little if with any Contradiction; but it would then have been so turned and winded by that *Cardinal*, as to be represented by him as no Evidence at all against so many positive Witnesses, and who would then have had their Fidelity and Penetration, which are now decry'd by him, extolled to the Skies to have given Authority to their Testimonies: For as no Man did ever give better turns to the worst and falsest of things with greater dexterity,

ty, than are given by *Baronius*: so no Man that ever had that Talent, did imploy it more, or to worse purposes, than he has done, to serve his great Idol the *Papacy*, which was continually in his Eye in the writing of his Annals. I don't make this Reflexion on *Baronius* here, for his having deny'd the Truth of the Story of Pope *Joan*, notwithstanding it had so many late Witnesses; (for I do look on that Story as a Fable) but it is for his slighting the Argument wherewith he triumphs over that Story, in the Case of the *Laureto*, and of a hundred Stories more, in which it is stronger than it is in that.

I shall conclude with observing, what a strange Creature Man is, to be capable of believing such Stories as these; and what Monsters of Men they are, who though they don't believe those Fables themselves, do magisterially impose them on the Belief of others, and with a supercilious Air, bestow all the hard Names, and pour out all the Contempt they are able, on all that will not believe them.

F I N I S.







A  
V I E W

O F S O M E

Papal Indulgences,

O F T H E

*Bulla Crusado,*

The BULL of the *Dead*, the BULL of  
*Composition*, and the BULL of *Milk-*  
*Diet*, granted by the Pope to the  
Kings of *Spain*.

W I T H A

Discovery of the Cheats and Artifices that  
are made use of to make them more ven-  
dible ; and how by Plenary Indulgences,  
the *Spanish Corteses* or *Parliament* have  
been utterly destroyed, and lost all the  
Publick Liberties of *Spain*.

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*They destroy Souls to get dishonest Gain.*  
*Ezek. Cap. 22. v. 27.*

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By MICHAEL GEDDES, L. L. D.  
And Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum*.

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# VIEW

OF SOME

## Papal Indulgences, &c.

**T**Hough the cheating of the *Western* Christian World out of its Mony, by the Sale of *Papal Indulgences*, was the Abuse that first stirred up the Spirit of Dr. *Luther* against the *Pope* by whom that false Ware was manufactured and vented, and the Impiety and Moral ill Consequences of that *Commerce* has been in a very lively manner laid open by many learned *Protestants*; yet I have no where seen the Cheats that are in the very Body of those *Bulls of Indulgences* sufficiently exposed; nor the Arts and Tricks that are made use of to make these *Indulgences* a Marketable Commodity, enough laid open in  
order

order to the destroying of that Scandalous Traffick. And whereas those *Indulgences* go off no where so well as they do in *Spain*, nor do their Factors any where take less Pains to disguise their Craft ; I shall here first set down the Substance of these *Four Bulls of Indulgences*, granted by several Popes to all the Subjects of that Monarchy ; After that I shall give some Account of the great Factory Establish'd in that Kingdom by the Pope and the King, for the managing of that Commerce to the best Advantage ; I will conclude with the detection of some notorious Cheats in them, and how the publick *Liberties of Spain* were destroyed by the Introduction of these *Bulls of plenary Indulgence*. The four Bulls are the Bull of the *Crusado*, the Bull of the *Dead*, the Bull of *Composition*, and the Bull of *Milk-Diet*.

1<sup>st</sup>. In the Bull of *Crusado*, his Holiness does grant to all the faithful Christians of the said Kingdom and Dominions, either dwelling in them, or coming to them, and who being moved with Zeal for the Glory of the *Holy Catholick Faith*, shall serve Personally in the War, and in the Army, or with the People sent by his Majesty, during the space of one Year, to fight against the *Turks*, and other Infidels ; or shall perform any other Service, or give any personal Assistance in the said Army, a *plenary Indulgence* and *Remission* of all his Sins, being contrite of Heart, and having confess'd them with his Mouth, or not having been able to confess



confess them, has in his Heart desired to do it; which used to be granted to those, who went to the Conquest of the *Holy Land*, or in an Year of *Jubilee*, declaring that they shall gain the same *Indulgence*, who shall die before the end of that Expedition, or as they are going to the Army, or shall leave the Army before the time of that Expedition was over, by reason of some Infirmary, or other lawful Necessity.

2dly, They who cannot go in Person to that War, if they do according to their Quality and Abilities, at their own Charge, send Soldiers to it; or if two, three or four, that are able to do no more, shall join together to set out a Soldier; or if Convents of Men and Women Mendicant, or not Mendicant, shall for every ten Persons that they have in them, send a Soldier, they shall all gain that *plenary Indulgence*, as shall the Soldiers also that are sent if they are poor.

3dly. Ecclesiasticks *Secular* or *Regular*, who shall with the Licence of the Ordinary or Superiours, go to the Army to Officiate in it in Divine matters shall have the same *Indulgence*.

Lastly, They that do neither go in Person, nor send others to that War, but shall out of their Goods contribute liberally towards the carrying of it on, by paying the Alms required of them by the *Commissary*, which must not be under two *Reals de Plata*, (*i. e.* a Shilling Sterling) shall gain the same *Indulgences*.

Besides this plenary Indulgence and Remission of all their Sins, a great many Graces and Faculties are granted by this Bull to all that purchase it.

1<sup>st</sup>. They may hear Mass, and receive the Sacrament during the Time of an Interdict; and if they die, they may be interred with Christian Burial, with a moderate Funeral Pomp.

2<sup>dly</sup>. With the Approbation of their *Confessor* and *Physician* they may eat Flesh in *Lent*, and on all Fasting Days; and when they please they may on *Fasts* eat Eggs, and whatsoever is made of Milk.

3<sup>dly</sup>. They may chuse their own *Confessor*, who shall have a full Power once in their Lifetime, and at the Article of their Death, to absolve them from all Sins and Censures whatsoever, (the Crime of *Heresy* only excepted) tho' reserved to the *Apostolical See*, and named in the *Bulla Cœnæ Domini*; with a Power likewise to absolve them from all the *Vows* they are under by a Commutation, except the Vow of *Chastity*, of *Religion*, and of *Ultramarine*, or of going to *Jerusalem*.

4<sup>thly</sup>. If they happen to die suddenly without a *Confessor*, if they die *contrite*, and had confessed at the Time appointed by the Church, and have not been careless or negligent, they shall have a plenary Indulgence and Remission of all their Sins, and Christian Burial.

5<sup>thly</sup>. Who-

5thly. Whosoever shall purchase the *Bulla de Cruzado* twice in one Year, shall have all its Indulgences, Graces and Faculties doubled to them; and may in their Life-time be twice absolved by their Confessor from all Sins and Censures, except the Crime of *Heresy*, tho' reserved to the *Apostolical See*, and named in the *Bulla Cœnæ Domini*.

That this *Bull* may receive no Prejudice by other Indulgences, Graces, or Faculties that have been granted, they shall all be suspended on the Year this Bull is published and preach'd, so that during that Time no Indulgences nor Graces can be gained by any other Way, but by purchasing of this *Bull*. If these were the true and genuine Effects of the *Bull*, here seems to be a great deal for a little Money, viz. *Plenary Indulgence* and *Remission* of all Sins, with all the forementioned Graces and Faculties; they that are poor may have it for two *Reals de Plata*, or a Shilling Sterling; but for the rich, they must make as good a Bargain as they can with the Commissary, who must not take under *eight Reals* of them, but may raise them as high as he can screw them. This *Bull* lasts but for a Year, so that they that will not be without it, (as who would that believes its Indulgences and Graces to be current in Heaven,) must buy a new one yearly; and as it extends only to the Person who pays Money for it, being applied to him by a Printed Paper that is put into his Hands with his Name in it, which Paper he must take Care not to



lose; so to pay yearly two *Reals* of *Plata* for himself, and two for his Wife, and two for every one of his Children that are old enough to go to Confession, is more than most poor *Spanish Day-labourers* can well spare without pinching themselves and their Families. If it happens that they have not the Money to lay down presently, as it very often happens, the *Commissary* will allow them some Time for the Payment of it; but they must be sure to have it ready before that Time is expired, otherwise their Goods are distrained and sold to raise it, let them be never so poor: All the Mercy that is shewed them, that I can see, is, that the *Officers* of the *Cruzado* are forbid to buy any of those Goods, for Fear they should help themselves to great Penyworths out of them. The Men, whose Hands are so full of plenary Indulgences and Pardons for all Sins, have none to excuse the Payment of that Money, which must be paid, if he that owes it has a Bed to lye on, or any Cloaths for his Back; neither do they give one of those *Bulls* in Charity to the poor, let it be begged with never so great Devotion; for say the *Factors* of this Bull, These Indulgences being granted for no other End but either to supply the *Indigence*, or support the *Cause* of the Church, they cannot be obtained but either by paying the Money they are taxed at, or by performing the Service required; because a *Will* to pay, or a *Will* to perform signifies nothing in the present Case: For tho' the *Will*, where  
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the *Deed* is not possible, is accepted, yet it can't, say they, be admitted in this Case, because doing this would defeat the End for which Indulgences were granted.

The *Papal Bull* for the *Dead* is a wonderful Help to that of the *Cruzado*; which the Living do not purchase faster for themselves than they do for their dead Friends; and no Wonder, considering the present inestimable Benefit which that *Bull* promiseth to the Deceased, in whose Name and for whose Use it is purchased. The Substance of the *Bull* for the *Dead* is, “ That whosoever shall purchase  
“ a Bull of *Cruzado* in the Name and for the  
“ Benefit of any deceased Person, Man or Woman, shall gain for him or her a plenary and  
“ total Indulgence and Remission of all his or  
“ her Sins, to the releasing of their Souls out of  
“ Purgatory. Two *Bulls* of *Cruzado* may be, and are often taken together for the Dead as well as for the Living; and those *Bulls* must be put into the Hands of the Person that pays for them: It is a Question, tho’ one would wonder how it should, which is the greater Kindness to a Soul in Purgatory, To have a *Bull* of *Cruzado* purchased for it, or a *Mass* upon a privileged Altar? Most of the *Spanish* Doctors are for the *Bull* of *Cruzado* being the greater Kindness; and their Reason is, because the Cause for which that *Bull* is granted is both more publick and more certain than that is for which an *Altar* was privileged, to the great Advantage of all the *Masses* that shall

be said upon it : Tho' after all, if there be any thing of Truth in the Popes Grants of Indulgences for the *Dead*, the one cannot possibly be a greater Kindness than the other, there being in both of them a solemn Promise from the Pope of a *plenary Indulgence* and *Pardon* of all Sins, to the Soul in *Purgatory*, for which they are purchased.

The *Papal Bull of Composition*, and the *Bull of Cruzado*, are managed by the same Office ; which is authorized by the Pope to help all People, who are possessed of any Goods they came by unjustly, to an undoubted Right to those Goods, upon their having compounded for them with that Office.

The Cases wherein this *Papal Composition* takes place, are the following.

1. All who have by *Extortion*, *Usury*, or by any other unlawful Way, got any Goods, may, if they know not to whom they ought to make Restitution for them, compound for those Goods with the *Commissary* of the *Cruzado*.

2. All that have received any *Ecclesiastick Benefits* and *Rents*, to which they had no Right, by reason of their not having recited at the Canonical Hours, as they were bound, may compound for those *Rents* and *Benefits* ; and besides the two *Reals* of *Plata* which they must pay for every two thousand *Marvedies*, they shall pay two *Reals* more towards the *Fabrick* of the Church where the *Benefice* is.

3. *Exc-*

3. *Executors* may compound for the half of the *Legacies* left by one for the exonerating of his Conscience, if the *Legatees*, tho' they know them, have for a Year neglected to recover those *Legacies*.

4. All *Legacies* may be compounded for, if the *Legatees*, after a due Diligence, are not to be met with.

5. *Judges ordinary*, or *Delegate* and *Assessors*, who have taken Bribes to pass an unjust Sentence, or to delay giving Sentence, to the Prejudice of the Party, or to do any such unjust Thing, may and ought to compound for all that they have received so, and to make Restitution to the Persons whom they have wronged, if they remember who they were.

6. All *Lawyers* that have knowingly defended an unjust Cause, and all *Witnesses* that have taken Money to swear falsely, and all *Prosecutors* and *Accusers*, *Officers*, *Scriveners*, *Notaries* and *Secretaries*, who have done any unjust Act, may compound, having made Satisfaction to the Persons they wronged, if they remember them.

7. All *Judges Secular* or *Ecclesiastical*, who in temporal Matters have taken Money, or any other Goods, to do that which they were by their Places bound to have done, may compound for all that they have taken.

8. All *Scriveners*, *Notaries* and *Secretaries* may compound for all that they have

taken above their *Legal Fees*, and must, if they remember the Persons they wrong'd, make Restitution to them.

9. They that have cheated at *Game*, and don't remember the Persons that they cheated, may compound.

10. They who have received any one thing instead of another, or have got by begging when they were not poor, if they know not whom to make Restitution, may compound.

11. They that by *Hunting*, or by any such Way, have damnified the Country, but know not to whom they are to make Restitution, may compound for that Damage.

12. All *Strumpets*, that are not publick, may compound for all the *Money* or *Jewels* which they have received for their Lewdness; as all Men may likewise for all that they have received from *Women* on the same Account, if the Women had no Husbands.

13. They that have sold *Wine* mixed with *Water* for pure Wine, or that have sold any other *mixed* and *sophisticated* Goods, or have used false *Weights* and *Measures*, if they know not to whom to make Restitution, may compound for those Injustices.

This profitable *Bull* of *Composition* stands visibly on a Supposition of the Pope's being the *Supreme* and *Sovereign* Lord of all Goods *Temporal* and *Spiritual*, by vertue of which high *Sovereignty*, it is in the Pope's Power to give to all that will compound for them, a Right to Goods, to which they could not otherwise



therwise ever have had any Right, by reason of their having got them unjustly. And tho' it is true, that in all Cases wherein *Restitution* is to be made, this *Bull* does require the unjust Possessors to make it, if they know certainly to whom it is to be made ; this *Bull* does nevertheless in Fact hinder a World of Restitutions from being made : For whereas Restitution would sweep away all ill gotten Goods from their Possessors, this *Composition* leaves them both the Bulk of those Goods, and does give them an unquestionable Right to whatever that leaves them in Possession of ; and for that Reason the unjust Possessors of Goods, believing they may *exonerate* their *Consciences* by making this *Composition* for them, are much disposed to deceive themselves so far as to believe, that tho' they may suspect it, yet they cannot tell certainly to whom they ought to restore them ; and upon that *affected* Ignorance do quiet their *Consciences* by compounding for them according to the Directions of this *Bull*. And for the Case relating to *Strumpets*, in which there is to be no Restitution, there be two things in it that be very scandalous : The one is the giving to *secret Strumpets* a Right to the Bulk of all the Money and of all the Jewels they have got by their Lewdness : The other is, that it supposeth *publick Strumpets* to have a Right to all the Goods that they have got by their lewd Courses, and for that reason they are not call'd on by this *Bull* to compound for them.

A Liberty to eat *Eggs*, and whatsoever is made of *Milk*, when they please, on Fasting Days, is granted by the Bull of *Cruzado* to all the *Laicks* that do purchase that Bull; but the *Ecclesiasticks*, if they would have it, must purchase another Bull of the same Price, in which that Liberty is granted to them.

There ariseth so great a Revenue out of these four Bulls, that the *Pope*, who is their Lord, and the *King of Spain* who is Tenant to the *Pope* for them, and the *Officers* by whom they are managed, do seem to have done all that is possible to put them in the best Method for raising of Money. Some say, but I think without any Grounds, that the Bull of *Cruzado* was first granted to *Spain* by Pope *Julius II.* For by a List that I have seen of its *Commissaries General*, whose Office is of the same standing with the Bull it self, it appears plainly that it was first granted by Pope *Clement VII.* to the *Emperor Charles V.* in the Year 1524, on purpose to raise a *Cruzado* to have destroyed all the *Protestants*; for that reason the Bull was called the *Bulla de sancta Cruzada*, and *Heresy* is the only Crime that is not pardoned by its plenary Indulgence. I have not been able to learn what Fine the *King of Spain* pays to the *Pope* to have his *Lease* of the Bull of *Cruzado* renewed, but considering how great an Estate that Bull is to the *Tenant*, there are undoubtedly great Sums of Money paid upon every renewing, to the *Papal Camera*, for the dispatching of its *Instruments*. Having  
met

met with the *Register* of all the Renewings of this Lease from the Year 1524, when it was first granted to *Spain*, until the Year 1605, I shall set them down here, because they do give some Light into the Mystery of that *Bull*.

In the Year 1524 the Bull of *Cruzado* was granted to *Charles V.* for all his *Spanish* Dominions, except *Naples*, by Pope *Clement VII.* and was taxed by him in the *Indies* at a Pound of Gold.

In the Year 1529, it was renewed by the same Pope, and in the Year 1532 the Suspension *Clement* had laid that Bull under, whilst he was in a War with the *Emperor*, was taken off, and the Bull was renewed by him, and extended to the Kingdom of *Sicily*.

In the Year 1535 that Bull was renewed by *Paul III.* and in the Year 1537 was renewed by him a second Time under the Title of the *Fabrick* of *St. Peter*, with an Exception of *Sicily*, and in the *Indies* was taxed by him at a Pound of Gold, being to commence there from the Day it was published in them. It was renewed again by that Pope in the Year 1538; and in the Year 1544 it was prolonged by him until the Year 1547; and from 1547 to the Year 1551, being taxed by that Pope in *Aragon* at a *Florin* of Gold, in *Castile* at two *Reals*, and in the *Indies* at a Pound of Gold; which was the lowest Prices it was to be purchased at: And to make that Bull more vendible, that Pope did suspend all Graces, Indulgences  
and



and Faculties besides those that were granted by it ; so that during that Term of Years a Subject of *Spain* could have Grace by no other Way but by the purchasing of that Bull.

In the Year 1551 that Bull was renewed by *Julius* III. and in the Year 1552 its Indulgences were extended by him to *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and to all the *Islands*, and the *Indies*.

In the Year 1559 that Bull was renewed by *Pius* IV. for all the *Spanish* Dominions, except *Sicily* ; and in the Year 1562 all Graces and Indulgences which might any ways prejudice the Sale of the *Cruzado* were suspended by that Pope : But that Term being expired on the Year 1565, *Pius* V. would not renew that Bull ; and as it was that Pope's being out of Humour with his *Tenant* that made him refuse to do it, so *Philip* was so much displeased with his *Landlord* on that Account, that he did two things, which, tho' they were both very reasonable, made the Pope yet more angry with him : The 1<sup>st</sup> was, That the *King* forbade a Constitution to be published in any of his Territories, which was set forth by *Pius*, prohibiting all *Ecclesiasticks* to pay any Tribute or Taxes to *Laicks*, and all *Laicks*, upon Pain of Excommunication, not to lay any Payments upon *Ecclesiasticks* : At which Prohibition *Pius* was so angry, that it was once in his Thoughts to have laid that *King's* Dominions under an Interdict ; but upon second Thoughts he judged it was better  
not



not to do it : The second was, That *Philip*, together with the *Emperor*, made a solemn Protestation in *Rome* against *Pius's* bestowing the Title of the *Grand Duke* upon *Cosmo de Medicis*, which both that *King* and the *Emperor* said was a thing that belonged not to the Pope : But whether it belonged to him, or not, *Pius* having received a great Sum of Money from *Cosmo*, which was to be employed in the carrying on of a War against the *Protestants*, did, notwithstanding those Protestations, and without consulting with his Cardinals about it, create *Cosmo* Grand Duke in *Rome* with great Solemnities. But that Pope having in the Year 1571 entered into a Confederacy with *Philip*, he renewed the *Cruzado* to him for six Years, which was a longer Term than had been ever granted before at once : In the Year 1572 he prolonged it from the *Advent* of that Year to the *Advent* of the Year 1578, and in the Year 1573 he granted it for six Years more ; and in the Year 1576 he added another six Years ; and in the Year 1581 he added six Years more ; all which six Years were to commence after the Expiration of all the six Years which had been granted before them. As *Philip* had now a long Lease in the *Cruzado*, so for two Reasons he and all his Successors have taken care to have a great many Years to come in that Lease : The first is, that it might not be in every Pope's Power, that was out of Humour with them, to deprive them of the Profits of that *Bull* : The second

second is, That it might be a good *Fund* for the raising of great Sums of Money by Anticipations.

In the Year 1585 six Years were added to that Lease by *Sixtus V.* and in the Year 1591 six were granted by *Gregory XIV.* and six more by the same Pope in the Year 1592, and six Years more were granted by *Clement VIII.* in the Year 1600.

In the Year 1605 six Years were added to that Lease by *Paul V.* which is the last Grant in my Register : All which six Years being to succeed one another in *Spain*, they reached from the Year 1605 to the Year 1625. and in the *Indies* to the Year 1663.

And as that profitable *Bull* has been ever since in *Spain* and the *Indies*, so it has been undoubtedly continued in them by the same Methods: The Kings of *Spain*, when they had Popes that were well affected to their Monarchy, have always taken care to have a longer Term in that Lease. Were not this Branch of that King's Revenue like all the rest, consumed in a great Measure by the high Interests of Anticipations, and by a Multitude of corrupt *Officers* and *Collectors*, it would yearly bring a vast Sum of Money into that King's Treasury, which is the Treasury in the World that is most cheated : And notwithstanding there have been hundreds of Consultations and Juntas to find by what Ways and Means that publick Evil may be remedied, it goes on still, and will go on until *Spain* has either a *King* of

of greater Application to Business than she has had of late Years, or until the *Subjects* Purse is taken out of the Hands of a *Ministry*, which will always be for enriching it self, and restored to a *Cortes* chose freely by the People, which from the Foundation of the *Monarchy*, until of late Years, had the keeping of that Purse; of which, by all that I have read of them, they were very faithful Stewards, both to the People they were entrusted by, and to the Publick; which in the Days of the *Cortes*es was never so indigent and so feeble as it has been since with far greater Payments from the Subjects. And as *Princes* and their *Ministries*, if *Cortes*es will not grant them all the Money they demand, (let their Demands be never so unreasonable,) are too apt to entertain the Thoughts of laying them aside; so *Charles V.* and his *Ministry* finding they should never be able to obtain the Money from a *Cortes* that they coveted, nor indeed any at all, without Redress of Grievances, they did set their Brains to work to find out some Ways by which they might have Money without them; and having thought of this of the *Cruzado*, which they knew would, by the Superstition of their People, quickly become a great and constant Revenue, and be a standing general Poll, and would also be paid cheerfully, they did obtain a Grant of that Bull from the Pope, to the great Prejudice of the Authority of the *Cortes*es, which, since the Time that that Bull came into *Spain*, to raise Money



Money, have been very little considered in it : *Cortes*es being *Assemblies* few *Princes* and fewer *Ministers* are fond of seeing, if they can have Money without them : But however the new Way of drawing Money from the Subjects without *Cortes*es may have succeeded in other Nations, in *Spain* they have visibly succeeded very ill ; where, tho' the Subject pays much more to the Crown than they did, or than the *Cortes*es would ever have laid upon them, the Crown is never the richer for it ; a great part of the Money raised by those new Ways being consumed by the Multitudes of *Officers* that are employ'd in the collecting of it. So tho' it must needs be a prodigious Sum of Money that the *Cruzado* fetcheth out of the *Spanish* Subjects Pockets ; yet by that Time that the *Pope* and his Court have had their Fine for renewing of its Lease, and all its *Officers* have had their Salaries and Perquisites out of it, it is well if one half of that great Revenue is ever seen in the King's Treasury.

*Charles V.* having obtained from *Pope Clement VII.* the Bull of *Cruzado*, the cunningest and most scandalous Tax that ever was paid by any People, a great Court was forthwith erected in *Spain* for no other Purpose but to manage that and the other three forementioned *Bulls*.

That Court is called the Court of the *Bulla de Santa Cruzada* ; its *President*, who is stiled its *Commissary General*, is always an *Ecclesiastick* of a great Figure ; and is, after the *Inquisitor*



*quisitor General*, the greatest Papal Officer in *Spain* : He has Lodgings in the King's Palace, in which the Court of the *Cruzado* meets three Days in a Week ; he hath great Powers both from the Pope and from the King, and with them great Profits : He has three *Assessors*, the first is of the Privy Council of *Castile*, the second of the Privy Council of *Arragon*, the third of the Privy Council of the *Indies*. This Court has likewise a *Treasurer*, an *Attorney-General*, two *Secretaries*, two *Solicitors*, and all the other inferior Officers belonging to any Court *Spiritual* or *Temporal*.

All that is possible has been done by this Court to dispose People to covet to have its Bulls, whatever they cost them ; and to beget in People a most profound Veneration for this Bull, it is always called the *Santa Cruzada*, and its Instrument is carried about, and placed in Churches as if it were an *Idol* ; being, on the Day when the *Cruzado* is preached in any City or Town, carried by its *Commissary* as the *Host* is in a solemn Procession to the Church where it is to be preached, and is there placed on an *Altar* very richly adorned, during all the Time of the Mass and Sermon : Its Procession on the Day when it is preached, is one of the greatest, richest, and most noisie that is in all *Spain*, all the Clergy Secular and Regular that live in or near the Place where it is to be preached, being commanded by its *Commissary*, under Pain of *Excommunication*, to be present at that Procession, with all their *Crosses* and

and other *Standards*, as all the Magistrates and Inhabitants in and about that Place, are commanded upon Pain of the King's Displeasure to come to that Procession, and not to fail to hear the Sermon.

On the Morning of the Day when that Bull is to be preached at *Madrid*, its *Commissary General* comes out of the Palace under a rich Canopy, supported by four *Regidors*, with one of the King's *Chaplains* on his Right, and another on his Left Hand, and being attended by most of the Court, the King's own Trumpets, Hautboys and Kettle Drums do all go sounding and beating before the Procession; Mass is said in the Church where that Bull is to be preached by the Dean of the King's Chapel, who has all the Musick of that Chapel along with him; the *Preacher* is named by the *Commissary General*, and has an hundred *Ducats* for his Sermon, besides divers great Privileges in common with the rest of the Preachers of that Bull; who, tho' they may not all have so much given them for their Sermons, they are all very well paid for them. The Preachers of the *Cruzado* are commonly the warmest and the most eloquent *Friars* that are to be had for Love or Money, whose Harangues in the Praises of that Bull are generally so extravagant, that *Mountebanks* in their Harangues upon the Vertue of their Drugs are but Children to them: In their Perambulations, the *Commissary*, the *Preachers*, and all the other *Officers* of the *Cruzado* are, where-  
ever

ever they come, by the King's Command, received and entertained by the Magistrates and by all Persons of Quality with as much Ceremony and Respect as the King himself could well be; and the Reverences that are paid every where to the *Instrument* of the Bull of *Cruzado* are but little inferior to those which are paid to the *Host*; and all this for no other End, but to possess the People with so profound a Reverence for that Bull, and for its great Virtues, as to make them willing to pinch both their Bellies and their Backs to get Money to purchase it; which is in truth the Case of many thousands of its Buyers.

To call Things by their true Names, four gross *Cheats* are visible in this Bull.

The 1st and chief is, That its *Promise* of a plenary Indulgence is clogg'd with a Condition that destroys it entirely; that Condition is, that the Purchasers of that Bull must be *Contrite* to have their Sins forgiven by its plenary Indulgence; which in plain English is, to promise those Purchasers a Pardon of all their Sins, but upon Conditions that they have no Sins to be pardoned, as it is certain the *Contrite* have not; for that all Sins are upon Contrition, or a true Repentance, forgiven in Heaven, is the known Doctrine of the *Roman Church*, as well as of the Gospel. 'Tis true, the Pope's Promises of the Remission of all Sins by their plenary Indulgence, do, by their having this Condition annexed to them, appear much less impious than they would do



otherwise; but those Papal Promises are at the same time Time by this Condition made downright Cheats, in pretending to bestow on their Purchasers the most valuable Blessing in the World, the Remission of all their Sins; when by reason of this Limitation they cannot possibly be of any Benefit to them, since if they be not *Contrite*, they are not promised any thing by that Purchase; and if they are, they are incapable of receiving any Benefit by it, having no Sins to be forgiven them. If one should promise, upon a *Præmium* in hand, to pay another's Debts, let them be never so great; but upon Condition that he has done something whereby he has induced his Creditors to forgive him all his Debts; it would not be a plainer Banter than the Pope's promising to all that shall purchase the Bull of *Cruzado* a Remission of all their Sins, on Condition that they are *contrite*, and have repented of them all. Now were the Importance of this Condition but universally understood and considered, it must necessarily destroy the Pope's Markets for their plenary Indulgences; for a *Spaniard* would then sooner throw his two *Reals de Plata* into a River than be made such a Fool of as to throw them away upon a Bull of *Cruzado*; and would go for a Song to fight as a Volunteer a whole year against Hereticks, sooner than for such an useless and bantering *Script* of Paper. But as that Bull, with this pernicious Condition to it, is never read by the great Body of its Buyers, who are either never told  
of



of that Condition by its Preachers; or if they do venture to mention it, is, before they leave it, distinguished into little or nothing; so the Popes do, by annexing that Condition to their Promises of a Pardon of all Sins, avoid the Infamy of promising to forgive Sins, tho' they are not repented of, without any Prejudice to the Sale of plenary Indulgences, which are brought as briskly as if the purchasing of them were all that is required to their forgiving of all Sins; which is in Fact what the Generality of all that buy them do expect from them, notwithstanding the loose Word *Contrite* is dropt into them for no other End but to stop the Mouths that decry all Papal Indulgences as contraband Goods in Heaven.

The 2d plain *Cheat* in the Bull of *Cruzado*, is the Promise to double its plenary Indulgence and Remission of all Sins to all that shall purchase two of those Bulls in one Year: But that Bull allows a Year for the second Purchase; yet since the buying of those two Bulls together is not forbidden by it, they are commonly purchas'd at the same time: Now is not the purchasing two plenary Indulgences, and two full Pardons for all Sins together, a thing too absurd to be justified by the wise Rule, *Abundans cautela non nocet*, since there can hardly be a plainer Contradiction than the doubling of the Virtue of a thing as to any Effect, whose Virtue alone is plenary as to that Effect? So that how well soever the two *Reals de Plata* may be bestowed that is

laid out upon the first Bull, the two that are at the same Time given for the second are Money perfectly thrown away by Multitudes that can very ill afford to spend it after that Manner. Would not a Mountebank, how powerful soever his own Oratory, and how diverting soever his Commissary's Jest, be by his gaping *Auditors* pelted of the Stage, so as never to dare to mount it any more, who, after he had sold them Papers of his *Sovereign Balsam*, assuring them, that it will infallibly cure them of all their Diseases, should with the same Breath tell them, that if they will buy another Paper of that Sovereign Drug, to take it together with the former, its Virtue will be doubled by it.

In the Bull of *Cruzado* for the *Dead*, on the Seller's Part two gross *Cheats* are visible, and on the Buyer's a *Weakness* that looks like the Effect of *Witchcraft*. In this Bull the Pope as the uncontrollable *Turnkey* of *Purgatory*, solemnly promises a *Release* out of that *Prison*, to all the Souls that shall have the Bull of *Cruzado* purchased for them. Were there any Faith in Popes, or did their Chapmen think that their Words might be depended on, after they had once bought that Bull for their Deceased Friends Souls, they would no longer be in any Pain about them, being as certain, as the Pope's Promise can make them, of those Souls being all released out of *Purgatory* from the Time that that Purchase was made: Thus it must be, if there were in this

Commerce no other but the fair and just Dealings of the Pope's performing his Promise, upon others having performed all that the Pope required of them; but it is so far from being thus, that on the contrary they that have purchased those Bulls, are to the Pope's great Dishonour, after that no less solicitous to help the same Souls out of *Purgatory* than they were before; going on still from Day to Day, and from Year to Year, buying more of those Bulls, and using many more expensive Methods to procure Releases for the same Souls out of that Prison: This, I say, is all to the Pope's great Dishonour, his Veracity being reflected on so much by such open Distrusts of the Performance of his Promises, that were any other Merchant or Factor's Words so openly distrusted, none would have any more Dealings with him; or if any had, they would never believe any Ware not to be counterfeit, only upon that faithless Man's saying that it is not so. I shall leave it to any one to judge whether this usual great Question among the *Roman* Casuists, *An Indulgentiæ valeant quantum pronunciant?* Whether *Indulgences* do perform all that they do promise? be not the same as to question, Whether the *Pope* in the vending of *Indulgences* be not a *Cheat*?

Now *Protestants* being utter Strangers to this mysterious Trade of *Plenary Indulgences*, may perhaps, by one plain Example, have more Light given them into it, than they can receive by any other Way; I shall for



that Reason here lay before them a late and very great Example of it.

King *John IV. of Portugal*, upon his Death-Bed, had so many *Relicks, Bulls, plenary Indulgences, Notes* to *St. Peter* in well known Hands, together with a *vast Treasure of other Peoples Merits*, applied to his Soul, that were there any Faith in Popes Promises, that Prince's Soul could be in no Danger of going to *Purgatory*, or any where else but to *Heaven* directly. And yet, notwithstanding this great Bundle of Papal *Securities*, that Prince's Soul had no sooner left his Body than they were hard at Work, saying *Masses* for it upon *Privileged Altars*, that is, on Altars on which the Pope, on valuable Considerations, has bestowed the great *Privilege* of releasing the Soul out of *Purgatory*, that has a Mass said upon them for its good Deliverance out of that Prison. And tho' without suspecting the Pope to be the falsest Man alive, after these privileged Masses were said for it, none could have the least Suspicion of that Prince's Soul being still in that Place of Torment; yet, as if they had been sure of its being in it still, twenty thousand Ducats (at a Time when the Government could very ill have spared so great a Sum of Money) were immediately, in Conformity to the King's Will, distributed among all the poor *Convents* in the Kingdom, for the saying, with all possible Expedition, an hundred thousand *Masses* for the Release of his Soul out of *Purgatory*. More than an hundred



dred thousand *Masses* might and would have been purchased with this great Sum of Money, if the King in his Will had not been so kind to the *Friars*, as to order expressly, that not above that Number of *Masses* should be said for that Sum; which Act of Charity of the King's to the poor *Friars*, who otherwise might have been obliged to have said more *Masses* for that Money than they could well afford to say for it, might do his Soul as much good as twenty thousand *Masses* more would have done it, if they had been screwed up to that Number by the *Distributors* of that Money.

After these *Masses* were over, which gave the Pope the Lie an hundred thousand Times, the Fears of that Prince's Soul being still in Purgatory one would have thought should have been quite over; but they were so far from being so, that an Estate was immediately settled on the *Monastery*, where that King was buried, for to have four *Masses* said for his Soul every Day until *Doomsday*: So little were the Pope's Promises in his plenary Indulgences to this King's Soul depended on, either by the King himself; or by his surviving Relations and Friends, who, besides the four daily *Masses*, which are to be said till *Doomsday*, for the Release of his Soul out of Purgatory, have had many hundreds said for it since that Time. This is the *Weakness* in the Buyers of plenary Indulgences, which I said looked like an Effect of Witchcraft; that notwithstanding

standing by their Actions they openly declare those Papal Promises to be things not to be depended on, do nevertheless go on from Day to Day, and from Year to Year buying of them, as if they believed them to be infallible. Now after that is once done for a Soul, a Fear that it may notwithstanding remain still in that Place of Torment, can have no other Ground but a Suspicion, that the Pope may either be unfaithful to the Dead in his solemn Promises to them, which would be a great Impiety, or that he is not able to perform what he has so solemnly promised them; which are both vile Reflections on one that will swear that he is infallible in all the great Concerns of Religion, and that he has so absolute a Dominion over Purgatory that he can throw all its Gates open when he pleaseth, with a Proclamation of a *General Jail Delivery*. But tho' no Death is thought to be bad enough by the *Pope* and his *Inquisitions* for any that shall suspect him of Falshood in any of the great Concerns of Religion, or that shall doubt of his having an absolute Empire over Purgatory; yet in the Case of plenary Indulgences they do with great Patience suffer the one or the other of them to be every where openly suspected; and the Reason is, because that Suspicion is the very Foundation the great Market of *plenary Indulgences* stands upon, as well as the chief Revenue of *Monasteries*: For were the Papal Promises in plenary Indulgences for the Dead intirely depended on, a Soul

would

would never have more than one such Indulgence for it, and not one Mass said for it after that; whereas, upon those Papal Promises being distrusted (as they are) *Indulgences* upon *Indulgences* are bought, and *Masses* upon *Masses* without end, for one and the same Soul, as may be seen plainly in the foregoing Example. Is it not a Singularity in Traffick to have *Drugs* sell infinitely the more, and without any Abatement in their Price for their Vertue, when their Merchant's Word is mistrusted by all that buy them? If there is no Sorcery here, it will not be easie to find it any where.

The 2d great Cheat in the *Bull* for the *Dead* is, An Invitation to all that have purchased one Bull for the Release of a Soul out of Purgatory to purchase another for it for the same End. Now if a Soul upon its having one plenary Indulgence purchased for it, is immediately released out of that Place of Torment, as it must be if the Pope is not so impious as either not to keep his Word, or as to promise to do more than he is able, must not the purchasing of a second *plenary Indulgence* be the throwing of Money away, or, which is worse, the being fooled out of it, so as no Man ever was out of his Money in any other Case but in this of *plenary Indulgences*? What strange *Stock-jobbing* is this for Souls! in which since there is nothing of Mystery naturally, (for its Cheats are palpable,) must there not be in it a strange Mystery of  
*Iniquity*



*Iniquity* or of *Sorcery* to uphold it in Nations that in all other *Commerce* have as much *Sagacity* and *Penetration* as their Neighbours, on whom such gross Cheats cannot possibly be imposed.

I have by me one of the notablest *Bills* of *Papal Indulgences* I did ever see or hear of any where: It is in *Portuguese*, and was within these forty Years printed at *Lisbon* in that Language; and tho' its Indulgences have no Virtue in them, but in Conjunction with the Bull of *Cruzado*, yet being joined with that Bull, they outdo it very much both as to the *Dead* and as to the *Living*.

This Bull being a great Original, I shall publish it here in *Portuguese* word for word, as it was printed at *Lisbon*, and shall endeavour to have it printed truer than it is in my Notes on the Synod of *Diamper*.

## Indulgencias Concedidas del Papa Adriano VI.

*De buena memoria, a las cuentas, o granos, que biendixo a instancia del illustrissimo Cardenal Laquinaues, Trigermano, Barbantino; en el Anno de 1523, y confirmadas por N. S. S. Padre Gregorio XIII. a los 26 de Mayo de 1576, y confirmadas por Clemente VIII. el Anno de 1603, y agora confirmadas por N. S. S. P. Paulo Papa V. Anno 1607, y tambien agora confirmadas por N. S. S. P. Papa Urbano en el quarto anno de su Pontificado.*

Prime-



Primeramente, *Quien tuviere una de las cuentas rezando un Pater N y una Ave M. cada dia saca tres animas de penas de Purgatorio; y si fuera Domingo, o fiesta, rezando doblado, saca seis.*

Item, *Cada Viernes, rezando cinco vezes el Pater Noster, y el Ave Maria a honor de las cinco lagas de Christo N. S. gana setenta mil annos de perdon, y remission de todos sus pecados.*

Item, *En cada un Sabbado, rezando siete Pater N. y siete Ave Marias a los siete gozos de N. Sennora, gana Indulgencias sin numero.*

Item, *El que ne pudiere andar las estaciones de Roma en la quaresma, rezando cinco Pater Noster, y cinco Ave Marias, delante de la Imagen de un Crucifixo, gana las dichas estaciones dentro, y fuera de los muros de Roma.*

Item, *Trayendo consigo una de las dichas cuentas, confessando y commulgando, gana Indulgencia plenaria, y remission de todos sus pecados.*

Item, *El sacerdote que le confiesa, y comulga, gana Indulgencia plenaria y remission de todos sus peccados, y de de mas desto, gana tambien todas las Indulgencias, que estan dentro y fuera de Roma, y Ferusalem.*

Item, *Auiendo comulgado, quantas vezes rezare el Pater Noster, con el Ave Maria, tantas animas saca del Purgatorio.*

Item, *Concede su Santidad que estas cuentas que su Santidad bendixo, puedan tocar a outras, las quales tocadas, quedan con las mismas gracias*

*cias, salvo que estas tocadas, no puedan tocar otras.*

*Dada en Roma, a quinsa dias del mes de Enero, de 1607.*

*Nos Juan Ambrosio, Refrendario Apostolico, para ganar estas gracias, han de tener, la Bulla de la S. Cruzada.*

Com todas as licencas necessarias, Em Lisboa, por Antonio Alvarez, Impressor del Rey N. S.

“ Indulgences granted by Pope *Adrian VI.*  
 “ of good Memory, to Beads or Grains  
 “ which he blessed at the Instance of the most  
 “ illustrious Cardinal *Laquinaves, Trigermano,*  
 “ *Barbantino*, in the Year 1523, and have been  
 “ confirmed by our most holy Father *Grego-*  
 “ *ry XIII.* on the 26th of *May 1576*, and  
 “ confirmed by *Clement VIII.* in the Year 1603,  
 “ and now confirmed by our most holy Father  
 “ Pope *Urban*, in the fourth Year of his Pon-  
 “ tificate.

“ *First*, Whosoever has one of these *Beads*,  
 “ and says one *Pater Noster* and one *Ave Mary*,  
 “ shall on any Day release three Souls out of  
 “ the Punishments of Purgatory ; and reciting  
 “ them twice on a *Sunday*, or on any Holiday,  
 “ shall release six.

*Also*, Reciting five *Pater Noster's* and five  
 “ *Ave Mary's* upon a *Friday* to the Honour of  
 “ the five Wounds of *Christ* our Lord, shall  
 “ gain a Pardon of seventy thousand Years, and  
 “ a Remission of all his Sins. *Also*,

“ *Also*, Reciting on a *Saturday* seven *Pater*  
 “ *Noster's* and seven *Ave Mary's* to the seven  
 “ Joys of our Lady, shall gain Indulgences  
 “ without Number.

“ *Also*, Reciting five *Pater Noster's* and five  
 “ *Ave Mary's* before the Image of a *Crucifix*,  
 “ if he is not able to go to the *Stations*, he  
 “ shall gain all the *Stations* within and with-  
 “ out the Walls of *Rome*.

“ *Also*, Having confessed and communicat-  
 “ ed, he shall gain a plenary Indulgence and  
 “ Remission of all his Sins.

“ *Also*, The Priest that hears his Confessi-  
 “ on, and gives him the Sacrament, shall gain  
 “ a plenary Indulgence and Remission of all  
 “ his Sins; and shall moreover gain all the  
 “ Indulgences within and without *Rome* and  
 “ *Jerusalem*.

“ *Also*, Having communicated, so many  
 “ *Pater Noster's* and *Ave Mary's* as he shall  
 “ say, he shall release so many Souls out of  
 “ Purgatory.

“ *Also*, His Holiness grants that the *Beads*  
 “ which his Holiness has blessed may touch  
 “ other *Beads*, which being touched by them,  
 “ shall have all the same Graces; but with  
 “ this *Salvo*, that they that are touched, can-  
 “ not touch others.

“ Given in *Rome* on the 15th Day of the  
 “ Month of *January*, 1607.

“ We *John Ambrosio*, the Apostolical Re-  
 “ ferendary. To gain these Graces People  
 “ must have the *Bull* of the *Santa Cruzada*.

“ With



“*With all the Licences necessary ; in Lisbon*  
 “*by Antonio Alvarez, Printer to our Lord*  
 “*the King.*”

Had I not Reason for what I said, that this *Bill of Indulgences*, both as to the *Dead* and as to the *Living*, much outdoes the Bull of the *Cauzado*: For as to the *Dead*, it is their Fault, that have those *Beads*, if Purgatory, let it be as full as it will, be not emptied by them: For besides, that the bare saying of one *Pater Noster* and one *Ave Mary* with them, upon any Day releaseth three Souls out of that Prison; and the saying of two *Pater Nosters* and two *Ave Marys* on *Sunday* or any *Holiday*, releaseth six Souls out of it; a thousand may be released in one Day by him that has confessed and communicated: And considering that these blessed *Beads* do communicate the same *Graces* to all the *Beads* that they touch; so many *Beads* might be touched by them, and so many *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Marys* said with them, that Purgatory, let it be never so full, might be emptied by them in a very short Time. Were it believed that there were any thing of Truth and Sincerity in the Papal Promises of Indulgences, it must be believed that the Popes, by the great Power they have given to these consecrated *Beads*, have put the *Keys* of the *Gates* of Purgatory into the Hands of the Persons that have them, so that if they would, they might make a  
 general



general Jail Delivery there; but as no body seems to trust the Pope's Word in any of his Promises about *Indulgences*, tho' they are under such an Infatuation as to go on still in buying of them; so the Popes, being satisfy'd that their Promises in such Cases are never depended on, do venture to Promise a Power over *Purgatory*, which they would not otherwise; even at the Instance of all the Cardinals in the Conclave; because the Belief that they are the sole and the uncontrollable *Keepers* of that *Jail*, the most profitable Prerogative of their Triple Crown: And as to the *Living*, on how much easier Terms do they gain Plenary Indulgences with these *Beads* than with the Bull of *Cruzado* without it? All that this *Bull* requires to the gaining of a Pardon for Seventy Thousand years and a Remission of all their Sins, is barely to say five *Pater-Nosters* and five *Ave-Maries*, and for saying *Seven* of them they do gain Indulgences without number: And the Priest that is so happy as to hear their Confession, and to administer the Sacrament to them, over and above a Plenary Indulgence and Pardon of all his Sins, does gain all the Indulgences within and without *Rome* and *Jerusalem*. A wonderful Grace indeed, after a Plenary Indulgence and Remission of all Sins.

Was there ever such a *Jargon* in any other sort of *Bulls*; as the granting one a Pardon for all his Sins for seventy thousand

Years, with the same breath, that a Remission of all his Sins is given him ; and the granting one all the Indulgences in and without *Jerusalem*, after a Plenary Indulgence of all his Sins. What a *Hocus Pocus* is this, beyond that of all other Juglers, to whom the whole *Legerdemain* of their *Craft* is so well known, that when they please they can make it all intelligible to others, which is more than the Managers of Indulgences can do, as to twenty Particulars in their *Mysteries*.

There is nothing that is not said by the *Advocates* and *Preachers* of Papal Indulgences, that they think will encourage Buyers to come in ; and as they will have the Treasury out of which that Ware is taken to be inexhaustible, they are likewise positive that it has always been in Fashion in the Church, which is so far from being true, that in twelve hundred Years after Christ, it was never seen nor heard of in her : The Story of Pope Gregory I. who lived in the latter end of the Sixth Century, having been the *Institutor* of the *Stations* of Rome, was devised five hundred Years after that Pope's Death, and in an Age when *Falsehood* and *Interest* were encouraged by *Credulity* and *Superstition* to say any thing that they judged to be convenient to their Aims. And that Papal Indulgences were things not known in the Christian Church for many Ages, is acknowledged both by Cardinal *Cajetan*, and by *Fisher* Bishop

shop of Rochester, whose words I shall here set down for the Factors of Indulgences to try their Skill upon. *De ortu Indulgentiarum, si certitudo haberi posset, veritati indaganda opem ferret: verum quia nulla Sacra Scriptura, nulla priscorum Doctorum Grecorum aut Latinorum autoritas Scripta hunc ad nostram duxerit notitiam; sed hoc solum a trecentis annis Scriptura commendatum est de vetustis patribus, quod B. Gregorius Indulgentias Stationum instituit, inquit Cajetanus.* “ If any  
 “ certainty could be had of the Origen of  
 “ Indulgences, that would help us to search  
 “ out the Truth: But neither the Holy  
 “ Scriptures, nor the written Authority of  
 “ ancient Doctors Greek nor Latin, has  
 “ brought that to our knowledge: The Story  
 “ of St. Gregorie’s having instituted the Sta-  
 “ tions in Rome not having been committed  
 “ to Writing, as from the Fathers, above  
 “ three Hundred years”. *Quum igitur (inquit Roffensis) Purgatorium tam sero cognitum, ac receptum Ecclesiæ fuerit universæ; quis jam de Indulgentiis marari potest, quod in principio nascentis Ecclesiæ nullus fuerit earum usus.* “ Wherefore since Purgatory was so late-  
 “ ly known and received by the Universal  
 “ Church, who can now wonder at Indulgen-  
 “ ces not having been in use in the first Ages  
 “ of the Church. In truth, Papal Indulgences do owe their Birth to three Things, none of which were known in the Western Church

for many Ages, and are not to this Day believed in the *Greek*, nor in any other Church.

The 1st was the belief of *Purgatory*, or that in the next World there is a Prison, into which most of the Souls are thrown, that are to go to Heaven at last; and that in that Prison, the Torments the Souls are under, are but little inferior to the Torments of *Hell*; this place was first discovered by *Visionary Rovers*, and were it not for fresh Visions now and then from thence, the belief of it would soon sink as low as that of *Obrasile*.

The 2d was, the belief that some Men were so Righteous, as to have done more good Works than were necessary to the Eternal Salvation of their own Souls; and that those good Works, which their *Factors* call *Works of Supererogation*, were all laid up in one great *Treasure*; out of which they might be taken and applied to the saving Benefit of those who had not good Works enough of their own to carry them to *Heaven*.

And the *Last* was, the belief, that the Pope had the *Keys*, both of that *Treasury*, and of that *Prison*, so as to be the *uncontroulable Lord* of both.

The Popes, upon the superstitious Belief of their having those two Keys, and with them the Keys of Heaven, did set up a Traffick, which as to the *Folly* of the Buyers, and the *Knavery* of the Sellers, never had its fellow any where: The Popes with the single *Commodity* of Indulgences, having not  
only



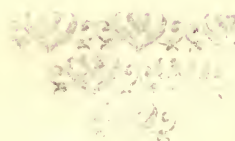
only many times filled their *Coffers*, but have brought likewise and kept together vast Armies of *Rakebells* for to fight their Battels; for of such the Armies of the *Cruzado's* were made up for the most part; and no wonder, considering that whatever *Reservations* or *Limitations* the Popes clogged their Promises of Plenary Indulgences with all; none of those Soldiers did in the least doubt of their having gained a full Pardon of all their Sins, upon their having listed themselves in that Service. For had they not believed *that* the Popes like other Princes, must have raised and maintained Armies, to defend them at their own Cost: And as by such cheap Armies the Popes destroyed the *Albigenses*, so they did hope by them to have destroyed the *Protestants* likewise; and for that end did grant the *Bull* of *Cruzado* to the King of *Spain*; but as *Spain* with all its People together was not able to furnish out a *Cruzado*, so with a great part of its People, who were *Morisco's*, Indulgences would pass neither for Levy-Money nor for Pay; and for that Reason *Charles V.* had few or no Soldiers, in any of his Armies upon the *Bull* of *Cruzado's* Establishment: It is true, that great Sums of Money were by that *Bull* raised for that Service, yet so much of it was, according to the Spanish Mode, embezzled by its *Collectors* and other *Officers*, that, to the Pope's great Disappointment, it never did the *Protestants* much

harm ; however, *Protestants* may see by it, what the Pope would be at, and that it lies not at his Door that they were not in the Dawning of the Reformation, *Cruzado'd* and *Massacred* by him, as the *Albigenses* were. I shall conclude this Dissertation, with what is said by the Learned *Thuanus*, a *Roman Catholick*, in the first Book of his History, concerning the Indulgences granted by Pope *Leo* the Tenth, by which the Spirit of Doctor *Luther* was first stirred up against the Pope.

*Leo cum alioqui ad omnem licentiam sponte sua ferretur ; Laurentii Puccii Cardinalis, hominis turbidi, cui nimium tribuebat, impulsu, ut pecuniam ad immensos sumptus undique corrogaret, missis per omnia Christiani orbis regna diplomatis, omnium delictorum expiationem, ac vitam æternam pollicitus est, constituto pretio quod quisque pro peccati gravitate dependeret, in eamq; rem per provincias, Quæstores & Æraria ordinavit, quibus additi Præcones, qui tanti beneficii magnitudinem apud populum commendarent, & orationibus artificiose compositis propositisque palam libellis, rei efficaciam immoderate extollerente : Quod licentiose nimis a Pontificiis ministris passim, atque in Germania præcipue fiebat, ubi qui redimendam pecuniam Romæ a Pontifice conduxerant, per Lustra & Popinas quotidie sine pudore in aleæ lusum ususque turpissimos, potestatem extrahendi Animas Functorum ex igne Expiatorio profundeabant. i. e. “ *Leo X.* being naturally*

“ rally inclined to all Manner of Licentious-  
“ ness, was persuaded by Cardinal *Puccius*,  
“ a Man of a turbulent Spirit, and in great  
“ Favour with him, to disperse *Bulls* over all  
“ *Christendom*, in order to amass together a  
“ vast Treasure of Money : In those *Bulls* were  
“ Promises of *Remission* of *all Sins*, and of *E-*  
“ *verlasting Happiness*, upon paying certain  
“ Sums proportionable to the Demerits of  
“ Offenders. To carry on this Trade, he  
“ created *Quæstors*, and appointed *Treasuries*  
“ in all Provinces under his Jurisdiction : And  
“ to make his Project more effectual, he or-  
“ dained *Preachers* who should extol to the  
“ People the great Benefit of such large *In-*  
“ *dulgences*, and immoderately exalt the Ver-  
“ tue of them in set artificial Speeches and  
“ in daily publick Papers. The Pope’s *Offi-*  
“ *cers* acted every where without any Guard  
“ or Caution, but more particularly in *Ger-*  
“ *many*; where the Farmers of the Revenues  
“ of the *Indulgences* publicly prostituted the  
“ Power of delivering Souls out of *Purgatory*,  
“ openly spending the Money arising thence  
“ in Gaming, and other the vilest Practices,  
“ without any appearing Shame or Remorse.







A  
DESCRIPTION

OF A

*Solemn Pontifical*

M A S S.

Design'd as a

SPECIMEN

OF THE

Insupportable Number of Ceremonies,  
with which the whole *Popish* Service  
is cumber'd.

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By MICHAEL GEDDES, L. L. D.  
And Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

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*Now therefore why tempt ye God to put a Yoke  
upon the Neck of the Disciples, which nei-  
ther our Fathers nor we were able to bear?*  
Acts Chap. 15. Ver. 10.

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## THE INTRODUCTION.

**T**HE merciless Spirit of Popery, and its Idolatry, in the Adoration of the Host of the Cross, and of Images, and in praying to Saints and Angels being excepted, there is not a Corruption that is more Antichristian, or more destructive of the Life and Power of true Religion, than that prodigious multitude of Cumbersome and Theatrical Ceremonies wherewith its whole Worship is oppressed and overwhelmed. For tho' the use of a few easie Ceremonies, and a Uniformity in them, are not only consistent with the Spirituality, Liberty and Reasonableness of the Christian Worship, but likewise conduce very much to Decency and Order; nevertheless, Rites in so great a number, that the strict Observance of them, is a full Employment for the whole mind, are manifestly inconsistent with those singular Glories of the Christian Dispensation, whose Worship is thereby turned into a perfect Bondage of Spirit: For, was it not for the inconsistency of the numerous Rites of the Mosaical Dispensation with that devout Attention and Application of Spirit which God requires of all that Worship

## The Introduction.

*Worship him, that that Institution was totally laid aside and abolished? and accordingly we see, that instead of such numerous Rites, two only were instituted by Christ in his Spiritual, Free and Reasonable Worship: And was it not on the Account of the great number of its Ritual Observances, that St. Peter speaking of that Law in the fifteenth Chapter of the Acts, saith? It was a Yoke which neither their fathers nor they were able to bear. The Fathers called it, Sarcina innumerabilium Observationum. And the New Testament was called by them, Verbum abbreviatum. St. Austin, in this Case, saith, Quamvis enim neque hoc inveniri possit, quomodo contra fidem sint; ipsam tamen Religionem, quam paucissimis & manifestissimis celebrationum Sacramentis misericordia dei esse liberam voluit, servilibus oneribus premunt: ut tolerabilior sit conditio Judæorum, qui etiam si tempus Libertatis non agnoverint, legalibus tamen, sarcinis, non humanis præsumptionibus Subjiciuntur. Tho' we can't find that they are contrary to the Faith; yet they cumber and oppress Religion (which God in his gracious mercy has made easy by enjoyning only two plain and positive Sacraments) with such heavy and servile Burdens, that the Condition of the Jews is more tolerable; who, tho' they did not know the time of Liberty, were subject only to Legal Burdens, and not to Human Presumptions. Now beside this mentioned by St. Austin, the Jewish Ceremonial Law had another Advantage of the Popish Rituals; which is, that its Rites are not*  
*near*

## The Introduction.

*near so many in number ; this, to repeat St. Austin's words, makes the Condition of the Jews, as to the Ceremonies in their Worship, to be more tolerable than that of the Papists ; of whose Rites, I shall here give a Sample out of one Service only ; by which the Reader may judge of the Immensity of their number in their whole publick Worship.*

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A

# DESCRIPTION

O F A

*Solemn Pontifical*

M A S S.



THE Hour being come for the saying of a solemn Pontifical Mass, the Bishop enters the Church in a Woollen Pontifical Cope, which has its tail carried up by one of the Chaplains; and having kneeled to the Altar and said the *Introibo*, he goes to the place where the *Paramenta* are laid, and sits down in a Chair, that is set for him there. On his Right Hand he has one Arch-Deacon, and on his Left another, with a Deacon, Sub-Deacon, six Chaplains, and two Assistants: The first Assistant is the chief Priest in the Chapter,

Chapter, who is expert in Saying of Masses ; and his Business is, either with his Finger to point to the Bishop where he is to read ; or with a low Voice, to tell him what he is to say. The Second Assistant's Office is to hold up the Book when the Bishop stands up to read. Not far from the Altar there is a Table for the *Credentia* ; whereon is a clean Linnen Cloath, a *Napkin*, two *Candlesticks* with Candles lighted in them, the *Mitre*, the *Sandals*, the *Pastoral Staff*, the *Chalice*, the *Corporal*, the *Pall* with *Napkins*, the *Hostery* with the *Host*, the *Bottles* with *Wine* and *Water*, the *Incense Pot* with the *Navicula* and *Spoon*, and on the *Horns* of the Table are two *Vessels* of Silver, a *Vessel* for the washing of Hands, and *Towels*. The Ministers at the *Credentia*, are the three most honourable *Laymen* that are present, who must be always upon their Legs, unless when they kneel. About the middle of the Altar, is the *Amictus*, the *Alba*, the *Girdle*, the *Pontifical Cross*, the *Stole*, the *Tunicella*, the *Dalmatica*, the *Gloves*, the *Planeta*, the *Manipulum*, the *Pontifical Ring*, and the *Pall* if he that celebrates is an Archbishop.

The Archdeacons, Deacons, and Chaplains having put on their *Copes*, or *Surplices* ; the Bishop ariseth up, and turning toward the Altar, with his Head uncovered, he saith, the *Pater Noster* secretly ; and after that, having cross'd himself from his Forehead to his Breast, he saith, *Deus in adjuto-*  
rium

*rium meum intende* ; and the Choir answers, *Domine ad adjuvandum me festina* ; the Hours that are proper for the time are then said, and in the mean while the Bishop, turning towards the Altar betwixt two Bearers of Wax-Candles, and having said *Dominus vobiscum*, and the Prayer proper for the time, he repeats *Dominus vobiscum* again, and says *Benedicamus Domino* ; after that, having laid aside his *Pluvial*, he takes his *Planet*, and goes towards the Altar, and having fate down whilst the *Psalm* of the Hours is singing, the *Sandals* are brought to him covered with a *Vail* by a Sub-Deacon with both his Hands lifted up ; and at the same time the Border of the *Pontifical Cope* being held up quite round by the Chaplains upon their Knees ; the Servant who useth to take off the Bishop's Shooes at his Chamber, kneeling down, does with the Assistance of the Sub-Deacon that brought them, put on the *Sandals* ; after that, the Bishop says the Prayer, *Ne reminiscaris Domine*, &c. with several Psalms and Prayers, and at last saith, *Calciam Domine caligis jucunditatis*, &c. and that other Prayer, *Calciam Domine pedes meos in preparationem Evangelii* ; and having after that stood up and said, *Exue me Domine veterem hominem*, &c. his *Cope* is taken off by the *Scutiferi*, and he prays and says to his Hands, *Da Domine virtutem manibus meis*, &c. and sitting down, the *Ewer* with the *Towel* folded, is brought to him in the Right Hand of the most honourable of the

in

*Laicks* that ministers, and the *Bason* in his Left ; who kneeling down before the Bishop, and having poured a small Quantity of the Water upon the Lip of the *Bason*, he tastes it ; and the *Pontifical Ring* being taken off by the Arch-Deacon, two of the Chaplains on their Knees do take the folded *Napkin* from him that brought it, and extend it before the Bishop's Knees ; the Water is then poured out by the *Lay-Officer*, who with the Assistance of the Sub-Deacon, washeth the Bishop's Hands, and having wiped them, he carries back the *Bason*, *Ewer* and *Towel* to the *Credentia*.

The Bishop's Feet being shod with the *Preparation of the Gospel*, by being shod with a Pair of *Sandals* ; and having put off the old Man with the Lusts thereof, by having put off his old *Woollen Cope* ; and having by washing his Hands endowed them with the Virtue of wiping out all Blots, he ariseth up and prays, saying to the *Amictus*, *Pone Domine Galeam salutis*, &c. In the mean while the *Paramenta* are all brought to the Bishop by his Chaplains in this Order. 1<sup>st</sup>. The *Amictus*, 2<sup>d</sup>. The *Alba*. 3<sup>d</sup>. The *Girdle*. 4<sup>th</sup>. The *Cross*. 5<sup>th</sup>. The *Pectoral*. 6<sup>th</sup>. The *Stole*. 7<sup>th</sup>. The *Tunicella*. 8<sup>th</sup>. The *Dalmatick*. 9<sup>th</sup>. The *Gloves*. 10<sup>th</sup>. The *Planet*. 11<sup>th</sup>. The *Thorns*. 12<sup>th</sup>. The *Pall*, if a *Pall* is to be used. 13<sup>th</sup>. The *Mitre*. 14<sup>th</sup>. The *Pontifical Ring*. And Lastly the *Gremial*. Of all these *Paramenta* the Bishop kisseth only the



the *Amictus*, the *Cross*, the *Pectoral*, the *Stole* and the *Pall* when it is put on and off. The two Arch-Deacons, which are at the Bishop's Right and Left Hand, with the Deacon that is to read the Gospel, cloath the Bishop after they have in order received the *Paramenta* from the Chaplains.

First they take the *Amictus*, and every one of them having *kissed* it on the side that is next to him, they deliver it to the Bishop, and after he has *kissed* it, they put it over his Head, and fitting it exactly to his Body, they tye it behind his back with Strings. The Bishop's Head being thus armed with the *Shield of Salvation* he stands up, and praying, saith to the *Alba*, *Dealba me Domine, & a delicto meo munda me, &c.* They do then take the *Alba*, and fit it nicely to his Neck, Wrists and Shoulders. After that the Bishop stands up and praying, says to the *Girdle*, *Præcinge me Domine cingulo fidei, &c.* They do then take the *Girdle*, and beginning at the Bishop's back, they carry it about his Body, and Buckle it before, bearing up the *Alba* so on all sides that it may hang handsomely: Being girt with the *Girdle of Faith*, the Bishop stands up and praying, saith to the *Cross*, *Munire digneris me, &c.* Then the Deacon takes the *Cross*, and having held it out to the Bishop to *Kiss*, he puts it so about his Neck, that it hangs before his Breast. When that is over, the Bishop praying, saith to the *Stole*, *Redde mihi Domine obsecro, stolam immorta-*  

P

litatis,

*litatis*, &c. The Deacon and Sub-Deacon do then take the *Stole* betwixt them, and having held it out to the Bishop to Kiss, they put it about his Neck very nicely, taking great care, that before it doth not hang across, and that behind it puffs off so as not to touch the middle of his Neck : After the *Stole* has been thus nicely hung, the Bishop riseth up, and praying, saith to the *Tunicella*, *Tunica jucunditatis & indumento letitiæ induat me Dominus*, &c. They do then put on the *Tunicella*, fitting it exactly to his Neck and Hands ; then praying, the Bishop saith to the *Dalmatic*, *Indue me Domine indumento Salutis*, &c. and then the *Dalmatic* is put on and fitted with the same Exactness. Then praying, the Bishop saith to the *Gloves*, *Circunda Domine manus meas munditiâ novi hominis*, &c. After that the Deacon kisses the Bishop's Right Hand, and puts his Right Hand Glove upon it, and the Sub-Deacon kisses his Left Hand, and puts on the Left Hand Glove. When that Ceremony is over, the Bishop riseth, and praying, saith to the *Planet*, *Domine qui dixisti, jugum meum suave est*, &c. Then the Arch-Deacons at each side put it on, bringing it back, so that the Bishop's Arms are not hindred by it : If the Bishop may use a *Pall*, as soon as the *Planet* is on, the *Pall* is brought by a Chaplain with his Hands lifted up ; the Deacon takes it by the Cross on the Right Side, and the Sub-Deacon by the Cross on the Left, and hold forth

forth the Cross that is in the middle that the Bishop may kiss it; which the Bishop having done, the Deacon holds up that part of the *Pall* which is to be behind with his Left Hand, and puts it over the Bishop's Shoulders; so that that part which is on the Left Shoulder lies double, and the whole is set so exactly upon his Shoulders that the Bishop's Arms are not hindered by it. The *Pall* being curiously put on, the three *Thorns* with *Jewels* upon them are brought by a Chaplain; the Deacon then takes the *Thorn* that has the fairest *Jewel* upon it, and puts it into the *Cross* that is on the Breast of the *Pall*; the second *Thorn* he puts into the *Cross* on the left Shoulder, and the third into the *Cross* that is behind: The *Thorns* are fixed so as not to go quite thorow the *Cross*, because they must by no means touch the *Planet*; and the *Jewel* that is on the Head of the chief *Thorn*, must be on the Right Side to the Deacon that fixeth it. When that is done the Bishop praying, saith to the *Mitre*, *Mitram Domine & salutis Galeam impone capiti meo, &c.* He then sits down, and the Deacon receives the *Mitre* wrapt up in a *Napkin* from a Chaplain, and puts it on the Bishop's Head, the Sub-Deacon holding up the *Ribbands* that hang down from it. The Bishop sitting with his *Mitre* on prays, saying to the *Ring*, *Cordis & Corporis mei Domine digitos virtute decora*: Then the Assistant having first kissed the Bishop's Right hand, puts the *Ring*



on the Ring Finger. The *Gremial* is then laid upon the Bishop's Lap; who prays, and says to the *Manipulum*, *Merear prece Domine Manipulum portare mente flebili*, &c. The Bishop being thus attired with an extraordinary Niceness, the *Thuriferarius* advances towards him, and the Assistants having first kiss'd the *Spoon*, he saith, *Benedicite Pater Reverende*. The Bishop having taken the *Spoon* out of the *Navicula*, throws Incense with it upon the Fire in the *Incense-Pot*, saying the following Prayer three times over, *Ab illo benedicaris, in cujus honorem cremaberis*, &c. After that he puts the *Spoon* into the *Navicula*, making the Sign of the *Cross* over it, and the Assistant having kiss'd the Bishop's Hand, delivers the *Navicula* to the *Thuriferarius*, who rising off his Knees shuts the *Incense-Pot*, and carries it to the *Epistle* Corner of the *Altar*; and is followed by two *Cereferarii* with *Candlesticks* in their Hands, with Candles lighted in them. Next after the *Cereferarii* the *Cross* is carried, if he that officiates is an Archbishop, otherwise the Sub-Deacon follows, carrying the Book of the Gospel shut before his Breast, with the *Manipulum* in it. Next comes the Deacon and the Assistant, and after them the Bishop between two Arch-Deacons, with his Staff in in his Left Hand, and is followed by the Chaplains and other Clerks. The Bishop when he comes to the Steps of the Altar, makes a full stop; where the Deacon takes

off



off the *Mitre*, delivers it to a Chaplain, and smooths down the Bishop's Hair, with whom they do all prepare themselves to say their Confession in the following Order. On his Right Hand is his Assistant, who must always be near him; and on his Left Hand a Deacon, and on the Deacons Left Hand a Sub-Deacon, who must not kneel till after the Deacon is upon his Knees; behind the Bishop stand the Arch-Deacons, and the other Ministers; the Bishop, having made a profound Reverence to the Altar, begins the Confession; and when he comes to the word *Indulgentiam*, the Sub-Deacon draws out the *Manipulum*, and having kissed the Bishop's Left Hand, goes up to the *Altar* with the *Gospel* open in his Right Hand; the Bishop having said the customary Prayers goes up to the *Altar*, and kisseth it first, and afterwards the *Book of the Gospels*, which the Sub-Deacon having shut immediately, delivers it to one of the Ministers. The Bishop having then turned himself to the *Horn of the Epistle*, the *Incense-Pot* is held out to him by the Deacon of the Gospel, and the Bishop having taken it, and put *Incense* into it, *Incenseth* the whole *Altar* in the form following: First having made a profound Reverence to the *Cross* or to the *Image* that is in the middle of the *Altar*, he *incenseth* it all over, whirling the *Incense-Pot* three times round before it; next he *incenseth* the *Image* or *Relicks* which are on the Right Hand with two round *Toss-*

*sings* of the *Incense-Pot*, and *Incenses* those that are on the Left with the same number of *Tosses*; after that he goes to the *Corner* of the *Epistle*, and *Incenseth* the *Image* and *Relicks* which are there with three round *swings*; and *Incensing* all the way, he returns to the *Horn* of the *Gospel*, which he *Incenseth* with the same number of *swings*; and having done that, he delivers the *Incense-Pot* to the *Deacon*, who having kissed the *Bishop's Hand* and *smoak'd* him three times with the *Incense-Pot*, delivers it to the *Thuriferarius*. When the *Incensing* is over, the *Arch-Deacons* put the *Mitre* on the *Bishop's Head*, who, as if he were struck with *Decrepitness* so of a sudden that he were not able to go alone, is supported by the *Arms* by the *Arch-Deacons*, and led by them to the middle of the *Altar*; to which having made a profound *Reverence* with the *Mitre* on his *Head*, he reads *Introitus*: The *Book* being held to him by one *Chaplain* and a *Candle* by another, the *Assistant* finding out the place for the *Bishop*, and pointing to it with his *Finger*, the *Bishop* sings the *Kyrie Eleeson*, &c. which having begun, he sits down; and his *Mitre* is put on again by the *Arch-Deacon*, and the *Gremial* laid upon his *Lap* by them; and the rest of the *Ministers* do all likewise sit down: The *Assistant*, who must always be close to him, sits on his *Right Hand*, and the *Deacon* upon the upper *Step*; and the *Sub-Deacon* upon the lower *Step* of the *Altar*. The *Choir* having

having sung the *Kyrie Eleeson*, the Deacon riseth up first, and taking the *Gremial* with a low Reverence and the *Mitre* off his Head, delivers them to their several Officers; they do then all rise up except the Bishop, who sits still in his *Pontifical Chair*, and as if he were not able to move without help, is lifted up by the Arms by the Arch-Deacons; but after that, as if he had been by a Miracle cured of his sudden Decrepitness, stands sturdily upon his Legs, and lifting up his Hands exactly to the height of his Shoulders, with his Fingers stretched out, but not separated, he saith the *Gloria Deo in excelsis*, joining his Hands before his Breast at the word *Deo*: Whilst the *Choir* is singing that *Hymn*, the Bishop sits down and has his *Mitre* and *Gremial* brought to him; which being taken off again by the Deacon as the *Hymn* is ended, the Bishop, as before is help'd up out of his *Chair* by the Arch-Deacons as usually, and turning to the People with his Hands lifted up as before, he saith, *Pax vobis*, and having said that, joins his Hands before his Breast till it is answered, *Et cum Spiritu tuo*. Then turning to the *Cross* that is upon the *Altar*, and joining his Hands, he saith, *Oremus*, and having parted his Hands and lifted them up again presently, he goes on with the Prayer, joining his Hands again when he comes near to the end of it.

When the Epistle is going to be read, the Bishop sits down, and has his *Mitre* and Gre-



*mial* brought to him, and the Sub-Deacon taking the Book, and holding it open against his Breast with both Hands under it, bows to the Altar, and afterwards to the Bishop, his Knee both times touching the Pavement; and then one of the *Acoliti* going before walks to the usual place, and there Chants the Epistle, and when he has done, makes Obeysance to the Altar, and returns in the same manner that he came, excepting that the Book must be shut, which when he comes near the Bishop he is to lay in the Bishop's Lap kneeling; and the Bishop *putting* his Right Hand upon it, the Sub-Deacon kisses his Hand, and thereupon receiving the Bishop's Blessing rises up, and returning to the Altar carries there till the reading of the Gospel. Mean while two of the Chaplains approach the Bishop with a *Book* and *Candle*, and holding it before him, as he sits with his *Mitre* on, he reads out of it all between the *Epistle* and *Gospel*, saying secretly before the Gospel, the *Munda cor meum*, &c. and when 'tis the proper time the Deacon taking up the *Gospel-Book* holds it before him, as the Sub-Deacon did that of the *Epistle*, and making a low Bow to the Bishop, and to the Altar, goes to the uppermost step of it, and laying the Book upon the middle of the Altar, leaves it there, and comes and kisses the Bishop's Hand, and then returns to the lower most step of the Altar, and there says to himself the *Munda Cor meum*, &c. and then taking up the Book and  
 holding



holding it before him, he goes along to the Epistle side of the Altar, and there tarries. When this is done, one of the *Acoliti* brings to the Bishop an *Incense-Pot* with the *Navicula*; and when the Bishop has put Incense into it, the *Acolitus* carries both towards the Altar, and delivers them to one of the Chaplains who waits there for that purpose, and when the singing is nigh done, the Incense-bearer, the Taper-bearers, the Sub-Deacon and the Deacon holding the *Gospel-Book* shut before him, make all of them their Obey-sance to the Altar, the Deacon bowing lowest, and in like manner afterwards to the Bishop; and then the Deacon with an Attendant coming near to the Bishop, and bowing low before him, asks his Blessing, which he accordingly grants, making a *Cross* over him; and then the Deacon rising goes in this manner to the place where he is to Chant the *Gospel*. First there goes before him the Incense-bearer, followed by the Taper-bearers, the Sub-Deacon next, and then the Deacon holding the *Book* before him, which the Sub-Deacon takes and holds for him when he comes to read; and at the words *Dominus vobiscum*, the Deacon joins his Hands together before his Breast, and as he is about to read the *Gospel* makes a *Cross* with his Right Thumb first upon the Book, and then upon his Forehead, Mouth and Breast; and when they are come to the Response, *Gloria tibi Domine*, taking the *Incense-Pot*, he *Incenses* the *Book*

three

three times, first full before it, and afterwards on the Right Side and on the Left; and then delivering it to the proper Officer, joins his Hands again and goes on with the Service. As soon as the *Gospel* is begun, the Bishop stands up without *Gremial* or *Mitre*, and joining his Hands, turns himself towards the *Gospeller*; and when the *Gospel* is ended the Sub-Deacon taking the *Book* carries it back in the same Order that he brought it, and when he comes to the Bishop, holding it open at the *Gospel* presents it to him to *kiss*, while one that stands by *Incenses* the Bishop, who, if there is to be a Sermon sits down, and putting on his *Mitre* and *Gremial*, the *Preacher* kneeling before him *kisses* his Hand and asks Blessing, which the Bishop giving him in the form of *Dominus sit in corde tuo, &c.* makes a *Cross* over him, and then the *Preacher* asks him what *Indulgences* he'll be pleased to have published, and then goes into the Pulpit. After Sermon the Deacon bowing before the Bishop, standing with his *Mitre* on, says the *Confiteor*; and when he comes to the words, *Te Pater*, bows again, and after the publishing of the *Indulgences* by the *Preacher* the Bishop gives his Absolution.

But if there be no Sermon, the Bishop after kissing the *Gospel-Book*, and being *Incensed*, turns to the Altar and says the *Credo*, bowing at the words *Incarnatus est* in a posture between kneeling and sitting, in which he continues till they come to *Homo factus est*; then he sits again as before, and the Deacon taking

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ing from the *Credentia* the *Corporal* and the *Bursa*, and lifting his Hands up even with his Eyes, does Reverence to the Bishop first, and then to the Altar ; and after he has taken out the *Corporal* and unfolded it, goes to the place from whence he came. The *Creed* being ended the Bishop, having his *Gremial* and *Mitre* taken off, rises, and turning him to the People, says with lifted up Hands, *Dominus vobiscum*, and then facing about to the Altar and saying *Oremus*, goes on with the *Offertorium*. After which he sits down, and having his *Mitre* put on, and his *Rings* and *Gloves* taken off, and a *Basin*, and *Ewer*, and *Towel* brought him, he washes his Hands with the same Ceremony as before.

While this is doing, the Chaplain who took the *Missal* from the Bishop at the end of the *Offertorium*, goes with it lifted up before his Breast, with a Cushion upon it, and is accompanied by the other Chaplains towards the Altar, where approaching with Reverence, he goes to the *Gospel side*, and there lays the *Cushion* and the *Book* open upon it at the place which is to be next read. At the same time the Sub-Deacon, going to the *Credentia*, puts on a *Vail* that is made to hang down longer on the Right side than on the Left ; and taking the *Patin* with two fair and choice *Hosts* upon it, and the *Chalice* likewise in his Right Hand, and covering them with his *Vail*, is to go in this manner after the Bishop to the Altar : After him follows one of the *Acoliti* with  
Wine



Wine and Water for the Sacrament, which must be first tasted by one of the *Credentarii* before it is delivered. Things being thus prepared, the Bishop puts on his *Episcopal Ring*, and being *Mitred* and supported on each Hand by an Arch-Deacon, goes forward towards the Altar, and when he comes near it, his *Mitre* being taken off by the Deacon of the *Gospel*, bows, and going up *kisses* the middle of the Altar, and then the *Priest Assistant* (or Master of the Ceremonies) coming to him, points with his Finger on the *Book* at what is to be next read. This done, the Deacon taking one of the *Hofts* and touching the *Patin* and the *Chalice* with it within and without, makes the Sub-Deacon or *Sacristan* taste it ; and offering the other on a *Patin* to the Bishop, he receives it with both Hands and holding it up before his Breast, says *Suscipe Sancte Pater*, &c. and at the conclusion making a *Cross* with it, places the *Hoft* almost upon the middle of the *Corporal*, and the *Patin* on the Right Hand : Mean while the Deacon taking from the Sub-Deacon the *Pitcher* of Wine which is brought to him by one of the *Acoliti*, pours into the *Chalice* what is necessary, and shews it to the Bishop, and the Sub-Deacon taking the *Pitcher* of Water in his Right Hand, and turning towards the Bishop, bows and says, *Benedicite pater Reverende* ; upon which the Bishop making the *Sign* of the *Cross* towards it, says the Prayer, *Deus qui humanæ Substantiæ*, &c.

Then



Then the Sub-Deacon pouring a little Water to the Wine in the Chalice, the Deacon takes and presents it to the Bishop, and both he and the Bishop holding and presenting it together, they say the Prayer *Offerimus tibi*, &c. and afterwards the Bishop moving the *Chalice* so as to make a Cross with it, places it upon the *Corporal* just behind the *Host*, and the Deacon covers it with a Napkin. After which the *Patin* is delivered to the Sub-Deacon, who standing behind the Bishop and the Deacon at a convenient distance, covers it with the *Vail*, and holds it lifted up with his Right Hand almost to the end of the *Pater Noster*: Mean while the Bishop goes through with the Prayer *In spiritu humilitatis*, and when he comes to the *Benedic hoc Sacrificium*, &c. the *Incense Pot* is brought to him; and the Deacon holding the *Navicula*, the Bishop puts in the *Incense*, and uses the Ceremonies before mentioned in *Incensing* the Altar, &c. Then giving it to the Deacon, the Deacon *Incenses* the *Prelates*, *Magistrates* or other considerable *Persons*, whether *Civil* or *Ecclesiastical* then present. The Bishop the mean while having washed his Hands, as before, and wiped them, has his *Mitre* taken off by the Arch-Deacon, who placing it upon the Left side of the Altar, the Bishop bowing before the Altar, says the Prayer *Suscipe Sancta Trinatas*, and then kisses the Altar near the *Host*, and turning himself towards the People says, *Orate fratres*, &c. and wheel-

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ing round towards the Altar again with lifted up Hands, says the *Secretæ*; and putting his Hands upon the Altar on each side of the *Corporal*, raises his Voice at the words, *Per omnia Sæcula sæculorum*. At the *Sursum corda* he lifts up his Hands, and at the *Gratias agimus*, joins them again and bows his Head; and lifting them up again presently goes on with the Service, lowering his Voice as he comes to the *Sanctus*, &c. which he is to *whisper* over with the Ministers attending him. While this is doing the *Torches* for the Sacrament are lighted, and born by the two Chaplains standing with the Sub-Deacon between them; and the Bishop devoutly reading the Prayer for the *Pope*, for himself, &c. as in the *Rubrick*, when he comes to say *Qui pridie*, &c. is to wipe his *Thumbs* and *Fore-fingers* upon the *Corporal*, and then taking up the *Host*, and a little elevating it, at the Words *Elevatis oculis in cælum*, he is to turn up his Eyes; and proceeding to the Words of *Consecration*, which he is to pronounce distinctly and reverently, falls down afterwards and pays his Adoration to it: Then lifting it up with both Hands for the People to see and adore, sets it down again in its Place, and is to bow again to it with his Knee touching the Pavement: His *Thumb* and *Fore-finger* must not be separated or touch any thing else, till after he has communicated; and while the *Host* is elevated one of the *Acoliti*, on the Epistle side of the Altar is to *Incense* it on his

Knees. The Bishop proceeding is to lay both his Hands upon the Altar, while he says the *Per omnia secula seculorum*; and when he comes to the *Pater noster*, is to raise up both Hands as high as his Shoulders, and to hold them in that Posture to the End of it. At the Words *Sicut & nos*, the Sub-Deacon brings the *Patin* to the Deacon, who, when the Bishop has ended the *Pater noster*, presents it to him reverently, and he takes it between the *fore* and *middle* Finger of his right Hand, for his *Thumb* and *Forefinger* are by no means to be separated, as was before mentioned.

In the Prayer *Libera nos*, which he is to say to himself, when he comes to the Words *Da propitius pacem*, he crosses himself with the *Patin*; and at the Prayer *Domine Jesu Christi qui dixisti Apostolis tuis*, &c. the Assistant goes to the left side of the Altar, and there *waits* upon his Knees till the Bishop has *kissed* the Altar; and then going reverently to the Bishop's right Hand, and *kissing* the Altar, the Bishop says to him, *Pax tecum*, To which he answers, *Et cum spiritu tuo*. And then the *Priest Assistant* gives the *Pax tecum* to all the *Great Men* there present, and afterwards to the Deacon, who likewise gives it to the Sub-Deacon; and one of the *Inferiour Ministers*, carries it to all the Congregation. The Bishop in the mean while goes on with the Service, and the *Communion* being ended, the Deacon having the *Mitre* brought him from the Altar, puts it on the Bishop's Head, who



who standing on the left side of the Altar, washes his Hands again as before, and when he has wiped them, taking off his *Mitre* says the *Postcommunion*; and then going to the middle of the Altar and *kissing* it, he turns to the People and says, *Dominus vobiscum*, and immediately turning again to the Book says, *Oremus*. And the following Prayers being ended, he returns to the Altar and performs the same Ceremonies over again, facing about to the Altar on the right Hand, as the Deacon pronounces the *Ite missa est*.

But if the *Benedicamus* be to be said, the Bishop as soon as he has said *Dominus vobiscum*, turns to the Altar, and bowing before it, after the Response *Deo Gratias*, says, *Placeat tibi sancta Trinitas*, &c. which done the Bishop turning to the Altar with his *Mitre* on, and crossing himself with his right Thumb, says, *Sit nomen Domini*, &c. and making a great Cross from his Forehead to his Breast, and from Shoulder to Shoulder, says, *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini*; and then lifting up his Hands and saying, *Benedicat vobis Omnipotens Deus*, at the Word *Deus* joins his Hands before him, and taking his *Pastoral Staff* in his left Hand turns himself with it to the right, and adds, *Pater & Filius & Spiritus Sanctus*, making a Cross towards the People at each of these three Words.

If there is no Sermon, the *Priest Assistant* publishes what *Indulgences* the Bishop is pleased to grant, as soon as the *Blessing* is given; and



and the Bishop crossing the Altar, his Forehead, Mouth and Breast, says the *Evangelium Sancti Johannis* ; and after the *Benedicite*, the *Keyrie Eleison* , and a Prayer or two, goes out in Procession to the Place where he put his Habit on ; or if it be near the Altar, he there Undressès, and the *Paramenta* are all reverently laid by his Chaplains upon the Altar it self.

F I N I S.





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THE  
LIFE  
OF

*Don Alvaro de Luna,*

Prime Favourite and First Minister to  
*Don JOHN II. King of Castile :*

GIVING AN  
Account of his Rise and Fall.

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— — — — — *Ultima semper  
Expectanda dies homini : dicique beatus  
Ante obitum nemo, supremaque funera debet.*

Ovid. Metamorphos. lib. 3. cap. 2.

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By MICHAEL GEDDES, L. L. D.  
And Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

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# THE INTRODUCTION.

**H**AVING in the following Life of this great Favorite set down all that I could learn concerning him from some ancient Spanish Chronicles which I have by me ; and having likewise made all the Remarks upon it that I judged to be proper : I have here nothing more to say of him, but that he was both as to the Greatness and the Duration of his Power, the top Favorite I have any-where met with in History. And the truth is, it was his having been so, that induced me to bring him upon the stage, after he had lain for some Ages buried in Oblivion. The greatest Men in their kind, are the Creatures which all, that have any share of Curiosity, desire to know somewhat of ; and after they have penetrated so far, naturally enquire into the Causes of their stupendous growth ; which Causes are many times harder to be discovered in Political Prodigies, than in those of Nature.

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THE



THE  
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O F

*Don Alvaro de Luna, &c.*



ALVARO *de LUNA*, who was for above thirty Years First Minister, or rather Governor to *Don JOHN II.* King of *Castile*, was born in *Canete* a Town in *Aragon*, in or about the Year 1388: He was the Natural Son of *Don Alvaro de Luna* Lord of *Canete*, and Cup-bearer to King *Henry III.* of *Castile*, by a Common Strumpet, who had three Sons before by unknown Fathers. And as *Don Alvaro* had taken no notice of a Child that had been laid to him by so Common a Woman; so neither would he, at his death, have left him any thing, if he had not been perswaded by one *John de Olio* to give him Eight hundred *Florins*; who assured him,

that *Alvaro* was so like him, that he was certainly his Son. With this Money *De' Olio* put *Alvaro*, who was then seven Years old, in good Cloaths; and carry'd him to *France*, to Pope *Benedict XIII.* whose Name was *Peter de Luna*, and who was Uncle to *Alvaro's* Father. In that Pope's Court, which was kept at *Avignon*, *Alvaro* was nobly educated until he was eighteen Years of Age; and then returning to *Spain*, was, by the interest of another *Peter de Luna* (who was Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, and a near Kinsman of his Father's) preferred presently to be a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to King *John II.* who at that time was but three Years old.

We are not told by what *Arts* (unless we will believe it was by *Magick*) *Alvaro* came to have so powerful an Ascendant over his young Master, that the *Queen Regent* found it was necessary not only to remove him from about her Son's Person, but also to banish him the Kingdom. Upon this Disgrace, *Alvaro* retir'd into *Aragon*, where he remain'd, probably, at Pope *Benedict's* Court, until the death of that *Queen-Mother* and *Regent*, which happen'd in the Year 1418. The King her Son being then of Age, took upon himself the Government of his Kingdoms, for which he was no ways fit by the Education which his Mother had given him: For She, according to the custom of all Regents that are not willing to part with the exercise of the Royal Authority, confined him,

him, in great measure, to the company of her Women, and Indulg'd him in all the *Vanities* and *Luxuries* to which his Youthful Inclinations led him.

We are not told how soon after the *Queen's* death, *Don Alvaro* returned to the *Castilian Court*; but within a Year after we find him there at the Helm of the Government. His two chief Councillors, in the beginning of his Ministry, were *John Hurtado de Mendoza*, whose Wife was *Don Alvaro's* First Cousin; and *Fernan Alonso de Robres*, who had been a great *Favorite* of the late *Queen-Mother's*, and was look'd on as the Shrewdest Man about the Court.

The *Princes* and *Grandeess* being all highly discontented, to see their *King*, entirely in the Hands of this *Triumvirate*, would quickly have taken him from them, could they but have agreed among themselves; but they were divided into two strong Parties, the One was headed by *Don John*, and *Don Peter*, Infantes of *Aragon*; and the Other by their Brother the Infante *Don Henry*; and being all sensible, that it was in vain to attempt to remove *Don Alvaro* from about the *King*, they all made their Court to him, striving to out-bid each other, to gain him to their Side. But *Don Alvaro* being likewise sensible, that he had no other way to secure himself in his high Post, against so many powerful Enemies, but by keeping them at variance among themselves; to divide them, and to keep them



*divided*, was the Game he play'd all his days; and being apprehensive that they would soon over-top such a Mushroom as he was, if he allowed any of them the least share of the *King's* Favour, he took care to represent all their Actions to the *King* in such colours, as made Him equally jealous of both Parties.

If the Reader should here desire to be inform'd, how so many of the Princes of the House of *Aragon* came to be in *Castile* at this time, and why they Interested themselves so much in its Government; I must acquaint him, that the above-named three *Infantes* were the Sons of the Infante *Don Ferdinand*, who was *Uncle* and likewise *Regent* to the present *King* of *Castile* before He was chosen *King* of *Aragon*, and was so well beloved of the *Castilians*, that they offer'd him the Crown when his Brother died. So that the afore-named Princes were all born in *Castile*, tho' they were *Infantes* of *Aragon*, and had great Lands and Offices in it. The Infante *Don Henry* was Master of the Order of *St. James*, the Queen Consort of *Castile* was their Sister, and their Mother the Queen Dowager of *Aragon* lived altogether in *Castile*, where she had a great Dowry, which, after her death, was to go amongst them. After this Account of *Don Alvaro's* great Rivals, it may not, I think, be improper here to give a Character of him, tho' the doing that, is by custom, adjourned till after his death.



*Don Alvaro* was of a low Stature, but had a handsome Face, fine Limbs, and a Body all over well proportion'd, and in his Mien very polite : He had great Strength and Bravery, and for Horsemanship was inferior to none of the Nobles of *Castile* : He had a quick and true Judgment, and spoke extremely well. In his younger years he was wonderfully civil and affable, but as he advanced in Posts and Age, he grew Imperious and Haughty. He was kind to all his Relations and Servants, and was splendid in his Cloaths, Retinue, and Entertainments.

But these Vertues in *Don Alvaro* were blended with greater Vices : He was insatiably *Covetous* and *Ambitious* ; ( the worst mixture any Man is capable of ) and was of so *jealous* a Temper, that he was always dreaming of Plots either against the King or himself ; which many times caused him to punish People severely, only upon his own *splenetic* Surmizes. Being from his Childhood bred up in the *Pope's Palace*, he seem'd to have little regard for *Religion*, and no great kindness for the *Clergy* ; for as in his Life he was prophane in his talk ; so when he came to die, he seem'd to affect to go off the Stage with the Honour of an *Hero*, rather than with that of a *penitent Christian*. He was very *Passionate*, and much given to Women, and so partial to his Relations, that they were preferred by him to Posts much too high for their Merits, as well as for their Birth. In  
a word,

a word, he followed his Uncle *Pope Benedict's* Example so closely, as not to boggle at any thing which he thought would promote his *Interest*.

We come now to see, how One thus qualify'd, and in such circumstances, was able to maintain himself in the high Post of the First Minister above thirty Years against so many powerful Enemies.

The Infante *Don John* being gone to *Navar* to marry the Princess of that Kingdom, and with him his Brother *Don Peter*, and most of the Grandees of his Party; the Infante *Don Henry* judging this to be a proper time to try to gain *Don Alvaro*, apply'd himself to him very warmly, and offer'd him and his two Counsellors all the Advantages and Supports which they could desire, if they would unite themselves to him. All that he asked for himself, was, to have the Infanta *Donna Catharina*, the King's Sister, for his Wife, and with her the Marquisate of *Villena*, which was at that time in the Crown. *Don Alvaro* and his two Friends appear'd very well pleas'd with the Proposal, and promis'd *Don Henry* to do all that was in their power, to help him both to the Wife, and to the Portion which he desir'd. After several Delays, the young Lover press'd for a positive Answer. *Robres* told him, that they had done all that they were able, to perswade the Infanta, but could not prevail with her; she being resolv'd rather to live unmarried all her days,  
than

than to marry in *Spain*. *Don Henry* being extremely discontented with this Answer, complain'd of it to his Friends, who there-upon came to a resolution to take the *King* by force into their own hands; and to make him easie under Restraint, to suffer *Don Alvaro* to remain with him, and then would try, if possible, to gain him over to their Side. And it being necessary that this design should be executed before *Don John* returned from *Navar*; *Don Henry*, for a blind, gave out, that he intended to go and visit his Mother the Queen Dowager of *Aragon*; and having, under that pretence, drawn all his Friends, and three hundred Men of Arms, together about *Tordesillas*, where the Court was at that time, he engag'd *Sancho de Hervas*, who was in Waiting upon the King, to leave the Door of the Bed-chamber open; and having early in the Morning entred the Palace, attended by *Don Ruy López d'Avila*, Constable of *Castile*, the *Adelantado Pero Manrique*, the Bishop of *Segovia*, and *Don Fernandez Manrique*, with a guard of three hundred Horse, he caused the Gates to be shut behind him, and arrested *Hortado de Mendoza* and *Robres*, in the King's Name, in their Beds; and having set a strong Guard upon them, he went to the King's Bed-chamber, where he found the King in Bed fast asleep, and *Don Alvaro* asleep at his feet. The King (being awaked with the Infante's calling to him, *Sir, it is time to rise*) askd the Infante, in great disorder,



order, *Cousin, what do you mean ? To serve you, Sir, (said the Infante) and to deliver you out of the Subjection you are in : And in order to it, I have, in your Name, and for your Service, Arrested Mendoza and Robres. Why did you ? (said the King.) Because your Kingdoms (answer'd the Constable) will be ruin'd, if Hortado and Robres, and such-like Persons, be not removed from your Royal Presence and Council. After the Mal-administration of those Ministers had been display'd in their proper colours before the King, by the Bishop of Segovia ; Don Henry earnestly supplicated that those Ministers and all their Creatures might be forthwith banish'd the Court, and at the same time besought the King to keep Don Alvaro always near his Person, and to advance him according to his great Merits. Don Henry would admit no denial, and would not be satisfy'd 'till the King made Don Alvaro one of his Council of State, and promis'd to settle on him, for his Life, a Pension of an Hundred thousand *Maravedeis* a Year. A poor pittance for Don Alvaro's sharp appetite, and a slender morsel, in comparison to what he helped himself to when he came to be his own Carver. The King being much sweeten'd by what Don Henry had said to him in favour of Don Alvaro, commanded all the rest of the Ministers to leave the Court immediately, and repair to their own Countries. Don Henry having understood that Don*

*Alvaro*



*Alvaro* was not well pleased with *Robre's* being removed from him so far as *Leon*, (which was his Country) desir'd the King to order *Robres* to go no farther than *Valedolid*, which was but a few Miles distant from the Court ; so willing was *Don Henry* to have made *Don Alvaro* his Friend, if it had been possible. The Palace being thus cleared of all that were believed to be Enemies to *Don Henry*, the Procurators of the *Cortes* were call'd together, and were commanded by the King to let their Cities and Towns know, that, what had been done by his Cousin the Infante *Don Henry* and his Friends, at *Tordesillas*, was for his service, and had his approbation.

*Don Henry* and his Friends being sensible that the Infante *Don John* would be highly displeased with what they had done ; to secure themselves against that Prince, they perswaded the King to leave *Tordesillas*, which was an open Place, and to remove with his whole Court to *Abula*. But when Orders were sent to the Queen and the two Infanta's, to make themselves ready for that Journey ; the Infanta *Donna Catherina*, who was *Don Henry's* Mistress, desired leave to go first to a Nunnery, that was near the Palace, for the benefit of the Lady Abbess's Prayers and Blessing : Which being granted, the Infanta went to the Nunnery, and from thence sent the King word, that she intended to stay there, and to take upon her the Habit of a Nun.

*Don Henry* was extremely disturbed at this; and the Infanta *Donna Maria* was sent to her Sister, to perswade her to go along with the Court : But she not being able to do it, the the Bishop of *Palencia*, in whose Diocese that Nunnery was, and *Don Fernandez Manrique*, were sent by the King to fetch her out. The Bishop threatned to lay the Nunnery under an Interdict, if the Infanta came not out of it presently ; and *Don Fernandez*, when he saw that would not do, swore that he would pull it about the Nuns ears, if they kept the Infanta in it any longer. Upon that, the Infanta began to capitulate, and offer'd to come out and go along with the Court, upon two Conditions : The one was, That she should not be forced to marry her Cousin the Infante *Don Henry* : The other was, That her Governess, *Mary Barda*, should not be taken from her. This Governess, being by the *Spanish* Historians still call'd *Mary*, and not *Maria*, I am apt to think she was an *English* Lady, who had been placed about her by her Mother, who was Daughter to *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster* ; and if her Governess was so, her great aversion to marry in *Spain* was not to be much wonder'd at. But however that was, the Infanta's mind chang'd quickly ; for she was soon after marry'd to her Cousin *Don Henry*, and for her Portion had the Marquisate of *Villena* settled upon Her and her Heirs ; and was to her Husband, in all his Troubles, a kind and most faithful Wife.

The

The News of what had been done at *Tordesillas*, came to *Pamplona* on the fourth day after *Don John* was married. He left his Bride on the same day, and rid Post to *Pennafiel*, the first Town in *Castile* that belonged to him. He found there the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, the Bishop of *Ceuença*, *Don Fernandez Sarmiento*, and divers other Nobles, who had all come to that Place, to meet him, that they might consult together, how to dismount *Don Henry* and his Party, who had leaped so unexpectedly into the Saddle: and being willing to go upon sure grounds, before they attempted any thing, they writ to *Robres*, to know whether the King desired to be taken out of the hands he was in. *Robres* sent them word, *that the King desired it above all things in the world*. Upon which *Don John* summon'd all his Friends and Vassals to meet him at *Olmedo*, to set the King at liberty, tho' in truth it was only to change his Keepers. A *Cortes* being called by the King to meet at *Abula*, *Don John* writ Letters to all the Cities and Towns of *Castile*, not to suffer the Procurators to go to *Abula*, where he said the King was kept a Prisoner, but to send them to *Olmedo*, where he and the rest of the King's Friends would meet them, to consult together how the King might be set at liberty: But in contradiction to those Letters of *Don John's*, the King did, by a new Proclamation, command all the Procurators to repair to *Abula*, assuring them, that



that he enjoyed his perfect Liberty there; and, as if that had not been enough, he did, by an Herald, command *Don John* and all the Nobles that were with him, forthwith to disband all their Troops, and to repair in a peaceable manner to the *Cortes* which he had called. This Message so confounded *Don John*, that he began to suspect the truth of *Robres's* Intelligence; and fearing that *Don Alvaro* might possibly be gone over to *Don Henry's* Party, and have carry'd the King with him; he sent three Deputies to *Abula*, with a Letter to the King, which was not to be deliver'd to him but in a full Council. They were likewise to feel *Don Alvaro's* Pulse, and how he stood affected as to *Don Henry* and his Party. We are not told what pass'd betwixt those Deputies and *Don Alvaro*; but the King, after their Letters had been read in a full Council, told them roundly, "That  
" he did approve of all that had been done by  
" his Cousin the Infante *Don Henry*, and his  
" Friends, at *Tordesillas*, or any other Place  
" since, and that he had let all his Subjects  
" know as much; and that, whatever they  
" and others might fancy, he had never  
" been under any manner of Confinement." Neither could the Deputies, at a private Audience which they had of the King, have any other Answer from him: And so zealous did he appear for *Don Henry* and his Party, that he got the *Cortes* to make the same Declaration in their favour, and to  
send



send it over all his Kingdoms. But at the same time that the King was making and procuring all these Declarations to justify *Don Henry* and his Party, he was consulting with *Don Alvaro* how they might get out of his hands. What was concerted between them, was, that under pretence of going out early one Morning to Hunt, the King should ride to *Talavera*. When that Morning came, the King did as was agreed; but finding *Talavera* not to be a Place of sufficient strength, he rode on to Mount *Alvon*, and surprized the Castle, where he resolved to remain till *Don John* and his Friends came up to his Relief. *Don Henry*, when he heard of the King's being at Mount *Alvon*, went after him with all his Troops; and being denied leave to come into the Castle, he desired that *Don Alvaro* would come out and speak with him: Which being granted, *Don Henry* asked *Don Alvaro*, wherein he had ever offended him, that he had perswaded the King to leave him in such a manner? "In nothing, (said *Don Alvaro*, either great or small; and tho' I did wait on the King to this Place, I never advised him to come to it, or to leave you as he did." *Don Henry* desired him to speak to the King to return with him to *Abula*: but *Don Alvaro* would not undertake that, pretending he knew it would be to no purpose. When *Don Henry* found that there was nothing to be done by Treaty, he laid close Siege to the Castle; but receiving Intel-

ligence before an advance was made in the Siege, that his Brother *Don John* was approaching towards him apace with a Force much superior to his, he drew off his Men, and retreated to *Ocuna*; where he had not been many days, before he receiv'd a Command from the King to dismiss all his Troops. He told the Messenger, he could not do that, without sacrificing himself and all his Friends to their Enemies, who were the King's Enemies no less than theirs. Upon that Answer, his Lands and Offices were all laid under a Sequestration, the Marquisate of *Villena* not excepted: *Don Alvaro* was the only Man in the Council that spoke against that Sequestration; but its passing, created a suspicion that he was not in earnest: However, *Don Henry* had so good an opinion of the Man, that, upon some fair Promises from the Court, he disbanded all his Troops; and receiving Letters of Security sent to him by the King, he went to wait on him without any Guards, and with but one single Nobleman *Don Fernandez Manrique* his inseparable Companion. But tho' he was, as soon as he came to Court, introduced to the King by *Don Alvaro*, who profess'd a great friendship for him, he was receiv'd very coldly; and when he began to offer something in his own Vindication, the King interrupted him, and bid him go to his Lodgings, telling him, That it should not be long before he would hear all that he had to say for himself and his

his Confederates. And in this the King was as good as his Word to him; for after a day or two He and his Friend *Manrique* were both summoned to appear before the Council. The King order'd him to sit down by him, and address'd himself to him after this manner: *Cousin, When I granted you my Letters of Security, I did not, when you came hither, intend to have reproached you for any thing that was past: But since those Letters were granted, and as you were on your way to this Place, Letters have come to my knowledge, which contain things that cannot be dissembled but to my great disservice, and the visible hazard of my Kingdoms; I shall order those Letters to be read to you, that I may hear what you have to say to them.* The Letters were eighteen in number, and they had been a few days before put into the hands of the Secretary of State by *Don Diego Fuenzalida* Bishop of *Zamora*: They were all Originals, as was pretended, and were all writ with the Constable's own Hand; divers of them were addressed to the King of *Granada*, to invite him by great Promises to Invade *Murcia* with a powerful Army; the rest were directed to the Nobles of that Kingdom, to dispose them to assist that Infidel when he came among them; but the burden of them all, were grievous Complaints of the Tyrannies and Oppressions whereby the King had provoked his Subjects to have recourse to so desperate a Remedy. After the Letters had been all read aloud, the King



asked *Don Henry*, what he had to say ?  
 “ Sir, What I have to say, ( reply’d *Don*  
 “ *Henry* ) is, That these Letters have been  
 “ all written by some Villain or other ; for  
 “ as no such Design did ever enter into my  
 “ Thoughts, so I know the *Constable* is not ca-  
 “ pable of such a Treason : There is one thing  
 “ therefore I do humbly beg of your Mercy,  
 “ which is, that you will suffer this execra-  
 “ ble Plot to be searched to the bottom, and  
 “ that the Villain who contriv’d it, being  
 “ detected, may have his just Reward.”  
*Manrique*, having been asked next, What  
 he had to say ; answer’d, “ As sure as God  
 “ is Three, these Letters have been all for-  
 “ ged, to ruine some of your Mercy’s best  
 “ Subjects ; and if any Man in *Castile*, beside  
 “ your Mercy, had dared to have laid such  
 “ a thing to my charge, his Skin should have  
 “ paid for it.” Well, ( said the *King* ) since  
 neither of you will confess, my Cousin shall be  
 gratify’d, by having this wicked Plot laid open  
 to the World ; and in the mean time, the *King*  
 order’d them both to be taken into custody,  
 and to be kept asunder. The whole Kingdom  
 was strangely alarm’d with this Plot ; and as  
 there was scarce any body that believ’d it, so  
 it was universally thought to be a Contrivance  
 of *Don Alvaro’s*, to defeat *Don Henry’s* Letters  
 of Security, and to ruine the old *Constable*.  
 People were much confirm’d in this Suspi-  
 cion, by *Don Alvaro’s* being made *Constable*  
 of *Castile*, when the old *Constable* of *Castile*  
 fled



fled into *Valencia* with *Don Henry's* Princess, soon after she had receiv'd the News of her Husband's Imprisonment. And tho' *Don Alvaro* and his Creatures did for some time make use of the *Constable's* Flight, as an Evidence of his Guilt ; it was not long before that Evidence was removed, by a clear detection, that those Letters were all written by one *Garcia de Guadalajara*, who was formerly Secretary to the old *Constable*, and knew how to counterfeit his Hand. The Detection of this villainous Sham-Plot, was owing chiefly to the bold and unwearied Diligence of the *Comendador* of *Calatrava*, whose Father had been *Major-Domo* to the *Constable*, and was thrown into Prison, for saying, " That whatever it cost him, he would find out the Author of this villainous Plot." He was offered both his Liberty, and a Reward, if he would talk no more of it ; but he rejected the Offer with Indignation, and said, That he would not for the Kingdom of *Castile* make any such Promise. His Son was commanded by him to spare no Cost or Pains to make the Discovery ; and he at length found out, that all those Letters had been forged by *Guadalajara*, who, after Examination, confess'd it, and was hanged out of the way ; but it was never known who it was that set him to work, nor how the Bishop of *Zamora*, who was a Creature of *Don Alvaro's*, came by those Letters.

One can hardly, at the first setting out, think so ill of *Don Alvaro*, as that he should

seek to destroy his Enemies, upon the sole Evidence of Letters, which he had caused, or at least knew to be forged. It is not improbable, that the thing that led him to it, was a strong conceit that Don *Henry* and the *Constable*, in their Distress, might have recourse to the King of *Granada* for Assistance; of which, if he had them once in custody, he might hope to be able to make some clear Discoveries. And as this is the utmost that can be said of such State-Practices, so at best they are things no Man of Conscience or Honour can be guilty of. For besides the great Injustice of Discomposing and Imprisoning People, upon Surmizes, and known false Evidences; should not the Discoveries that were expected happen to be made, those known false Evidences will be in danger of being carry'd farther than was at first intended, and may come to be made use of to finish the Tragedy which they began, tho' at first to begin it was all that was designed by them.

But the *King*, not contented with having made Don *Alvaro* Constable of *Castile*, created him at the same time *Conde de Sanesteva*, and bestow'd on him more Towns and Lands than had ever been in the possession of any Subject of *Castile* before: He also made his Wife *Donna Elviro de Portacarero*, Governess to the *Infanta Donna Catherina* his first-born Child; at whose Birth, according to the custom of *Castile* ever since that Crown

was

was Hereditary, were present by the King's Command, Don *Lewis de Gusman* Master of *Calatrava*, the Bishop of *Zamora*, Don *Diego Perez Sarmiente* Master of the Wardrobe, Don *Fernandez de Cordova*, Donna *Joanna de Mendoza* Wife to the Admiral, Donna *Maria* a Nun of *Sancta Clara* and Daughter to King *Peter*, Donna *Elvira Portacarero* Wife to Don *Alvaro*, and Donna *Therysa de Ayla* Abbess of *St. Domingo* in *Toledo*.

The *Constable* (for so we must call Don *Alvaro* hereafter, till he comes to have a higher Title) being very sensible, that as the Honours and Wealth the King had heaped upon him, made him the *Envy*, so the late Sham-Plot, of which he was universally believed to have been the Contriver, had made him the *Detestation* of the whole Kingdom; he could not think of any other way by which it was possible for him to secure himself from falling a Sacrifice, but by bringing the King to be *Arbitrary* and *Uncontroulable*: And so eager was he to help himself to this Security, that tho' he met with many terrible Shocks and Disappointments in the prosecution of it, (for in those days no People in *Europe*, besides odious and obnoxious Ministers, who had no other way to secure themselves, could bear the exalting of the Royal Authority above the Laws made by the King and the States of the Realm) yet he could never give that design quite over, but as he had opportunity, was still making some ad-



vances in that way, until he broke his own neck, and ruin'd his Family in it. And the truth is, considering how much this Man had set his heart on raising a great Family, and establishing it in *Castile*, his driving on that design as he did, looks like a Curse upon him; since he could not be so vain as to think that the Post of *the Favorite* could be made hereditary in his Family, no more than it was in *Joseph's*, who by making the Kings of *Egypt* Arbitrary and Uncontroulable Lords, did, we see, bring his own Posterity, as well as others, into the wretched condition of being Slaves to the Wills of lawless Tyrants. Neither have many of the Enemies to the *Legal Rights* of Subjects, if they survived the Destruction of them, escaped feeling on their own backs the unsupportable weight of a Power exalted above the Laws. However, this Man, preferring his own present Security to all other Considerations whatsoever, made three bold steps in that way at once.

The first was, That the Salaries of the Procurators of the *Cortees* should not be paid by the Cities and Towns they represented, as they had been formerly, but by the Crown.

The second was, the dissolving of the ancient Form of Government of the City of *Toledo*, which consisted in a select number of its own Nobles and Citizens, in whose room *Corrigidors* of the King's Nomination were set over that City,

But



But the last and boldest step was, The raising and establishing a *Thousand Lances* to be the standing Guard of the King's Body, in the room of a *few Halberds*, which were all the Guards the Kings of *Castile* had before.

I cannot tell whether the Cities and Towns, which sent Procurators to the *Cortes*, might not at first be well enough pleased with their being thus eased of the Charge of paying a certain Salary to their Procurators for their Attendance, nor whether those Salaries have ever since been paid by the Crown: All that I have met with concerning this matter, is, that in the Wars of the Commons of *Castile*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Charles V.* the Payment of those Salaries by the King was reckoned one of the chief Grievances; but whether it was redressed or not, I could never learn.

As to the great Change made by the Constable in the Government of the City of *Toledo*, we shall see what Effects that had, in the Sequel of this Story.

As to the new Guard of a *Thousand Lances*, the whole Kingdom was so alarm'd by it, that the first *Cortes* that met after it was rais'd, pull'd it to pieces, tho' the King struggled very hard to have it kept up. When he saw that could not be done, he told the *Cortes*, he would be content with *Five hundred Lances*; and when he saw that would not be allowed, he desired he only might have the *Three hundred* established which had been raised  
and

and were commanded by the Constable ; and when the *Cortes* would not agree to that, he desired he might have *One hundred* ; which number, tho' a majority gave their consent, was opposed and protested against by a great Party, who declared, that he ought to be contented with the *same old Guards* his Ancestors had before him. And it was so palpable, that the Constable's design, in raising such *new strong Guards*, was to secure himself at the cost of the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, that the spirit of the whole Kingdom did rise up against him ; and Don *John* and his Friends, finding, that by taking the King out of the hands of Don *Henry*, they had only exalted the Constable to an intolerable height, but had got nothing for themselves, petitioned the King to set Don *Henry* at liberty ; alledging, that nothing could be more unjust, than his being kept three Years a Prisoner, after the Letters for which he had been imprisoned, had been legally proved Forgeries.

By this Petition, and by the Voice of the whole Kingdom, the King was obliged, much against his Will, to set that Prince at liberty : However he forbid him to come to Court, fearing, if he were once there, that he would be caballing with the Nobles against the Constable, for whom the King's fondness was so great, that, tho' he could not but know how odious he was become to the whole Kingdom, he made him at this time

God-

*God-father* to his eldest Son the Prince Don Henry.

The Infante Don Henry, after he was at liberty, obeyed the King so far as not to go to *Valedolid*, where the Court was, but went to *Tudela de Deuro*, which was within three Leagues of it, accompanied by the Masters of *Alcantra* and *Calatrava*, and divers other Nobles. He had not been long there, before his Brother Don John, who, upon the death of his Wife's Father, had the Title of King of *Navar* (his Wife being Queen of that Kingdom) went from *Valedolid* to give him a Visit; and they and all their Friends having conferred together for some hours, the King of *Navar* returned to Court, and with much difficulty obtained leave of the King for his Brother Don Henry to come to that City. When he and his Friends came thither, they were forced to lodge with the King of *Navar* in the Monastery of *St. Paul*, because the King had not, according to the custom of the *Castilian* Court, appointed any Lodgings for them. The King of *Navar*, his Brother Don Henry, and most of the *Grandeess*, Bishops and Nobles of the Kingdom, (having for several days consulted together in that Monastery) did all agree to petition the King to remove the Constable from his Presence and Councils, as a Person who for several Years had, to the great disservice of his Highness, and the irreparable damage of his Kingdoms, assumed to himself  
the



the whole Royal Authority ; charging him farther, with innumerable Tyrannies, Oppressions, and other great Crimes, of all which, they said, they were prepared to convict him, if they might be heard. The King, when this Petition was presented to him, appeared to be much displeased ; however, he told the Princes and Grandees by whom it was brought, *That he would consider of it* ; which was all he said to them : and the Council, when it was laid before them by the King, were so divided in their opinions, that they could not agree about the Answer the King was to return to it. The King himself being strangely distracted betwixt his fondness for the Constable, and his fears of a Civil War, resolved to go to Heaven for Direction ; and having heard much of one Friar *Francis de Soria*, and the heavenly Life which he led, sent for him, and acquainted him with his intention of being directed by him how to put an end to this hot Contest which was risen between the Nobles and the Constable. The Friar appear'd very humble, and desired to be excused ; but the King told him he must be his Guide in this matter. Being prevail'd with, he desired to have Time to prepare himself, by some extraordinary Mortifications, for so great a Work. After which, he told the King, That the way put into his mind by Heaven (tho' it was believed it was infused into him by the King of *Navar*) to end all these unhappy Differences, was to refer them



them all to four Persons of known Wisdom and Probity, and who, if they did not agree, should have power to name a fifth Person for an Umpire; that they should all take an Oath so to judge of the things that came before them, as they in their Consciences did believe would be most for God's and his Highness's Honour and Service, and the common Good of his Kingdoms, which at present, he said, were in a lamentable estate, and that the Nobles and the Constable should promise to acquiesce in their Sentence, whatever it was. This heavenly Friar, after he had given the King this Advice, turn'd *Courtier*, and was made Confessor to the King of *Navar*: And twelve Years after we find him turn'd into a most bloody *Inquisitor*; for it was at his Instigation chiefly, that those multitudes of People whom I have spoken of in another place, and who were, I suppose, of the same Religion with the *Vaudois*, were Dragoon'd from among the Mountains of *Duringo*, and were Burnt alive at *Valedolid* and *Domingo de Calçada*, for refusing to the last to be of the Communion of the *Roman Church*.

This Advice of the Friar's was not made publick, till after the *Constable*, and Doctor *Pyrannez* and Doctor *Rodriguez*, two eminent Lawyers, had been consulted about it. The *Constable* said, *He did not know what to think of Advices from Heaven, or of the Persons that pretended to fetch them thence*: But the two *Doctors* were positive, That considering the  
great

great Ferment the whole Kingdom was in, it was the best Counsel that could have been given. Upon which it was resolved it should be follow'd ; and four Persons were, by the two Parties, named to be Judges ; and in case they did not agree, a fifth was named to be Umpire.

The four Judges were, the Admiral of *Castile*, the Master of *Calatrava*, the *Adelantado Peter Manrique*, and *Fernan Robres* ; and the Umpire the Prior of the *Benedictines* in *Valedolid*, in whose Monastery the Judges were to sit, and whose Commission was to last but ten Days.

The Judges having met in that *Benedictine* Monastery, and heard all that the Nobles had to object against the Constable, and all the Constable had to offer in his own defence, made an Order, That the King should leave *Simanchas*, and go to *Sigales*, and that the Constable should remain in that City till they had passed their final Sentence. Which Order (tho' it treated the King but coarsly) being comply'd with ; the Judges fell upon the Merits of the main Cause ; but differ'd so much about it, that when the Morning of the last Day was come, they were not agreed on any one Article. The Prior was then call'd in : At first he express'd a great unwillingness to meddle with an Affair of so high a nature, and to which, he said, he was altogether a stranger ; however, he told them, if they would go to Mass with him, they should know his

his

his mind. The Judges went to Mass with him ; and the Prior, who officiated himself, after he had consecrated the Elements, turn'd about, and holding the Host in his hand, said to the Judges ; *You see here the true Body of Christ, and by this sacred Body I do admonish you all impartially to handle the Matter, and so to judge of it as you in your Consciences do believe will be most for God's and the King's Honour and Service, and the publick Good of his Kingdoms, and that you do tell me the whole truth and nothing but the truth, and may Christ reward or punish you as you quit your selves in this Matter.* After Mass was ended, the Prior accompanied the Judges to the Room where they had sate, and having taken on him the Person of an Umpire, before Night he pass'd the following Sentence upon the Constable ; *That he shall within three Days after the intimation of this Sentence to him, leave Simanchas, and shall, without seeing the King, go to one of his own Houses, and shall not in a Year and an half come within fifteen Leagues of the Court, and that all that have been plac'd by him about the King shall be immediately dismissed.*

The Constable, ( who had depended on his Friend Robres to have either totally defeated this Arbitration, or to have turn'd it to his advantage ) when he heard of this Sentence, was much surprized : He did nevertheless yield obedience to it so far, as to leave *Simanchas*, and go to his Castle of *Aylon*, to which he



he was attended by some Nobles, a great train of Servants and two hundred Men of Arms all well mounted and richly accoutred, whom he kept about him as his Guard.

The Princes and Nobles having remov'd the Constable so far and for so long a time from about the King, did not doubt but that they should be able to wean the King from him: but they soon found they were under a mistake; for besides that the King writ to the Constable, and the Constable to him every day, when the King was desired to dismiss the Constable's Kinsmen and Creatures that were about him, deny'd to do it, pretending they had not been recommended to his Service by the Constable, but by their own Merits; so that the Sentence did not reach them. There was no Man the King and Constable were so angry with at this time as with *Robres*, who, they believed, if he would have set his strength to it, could with ease have prevented this Sentence. This being observ'd by the Princes and Nobles, who never lov'd *Robres*, and were resolved never to trust him, they petition'd the King, that he might be punish'd as a publick *Incendiary*; affirming, that upon the two Parties having compar'd Notes, they had plainly discover'd, that it was by *Robres* that they had been set and were still kept at Variance. The King, who was glad of such a handle given him to execute his Vengeance on *Robres*, told the Nobles, he believ'd the great Crime they accused

*Robres*



*Robres* of to be true, and that he would not fail to punish him for it as he deserved; and accordingly he presently ordered *Robres* to be Arrested, and made a close Prisoner in the Castle of *Simanchas*, from whence he was removed to the Castle of *Uzeda*, where he died soon after unlamented.

But tho' this useful Discovery of *Robres's* Double-dealing was owing to the two Parties among the Nobles being united, yet this Union was an Obstacle to the Constable's return to Court with safety, and therefore the King and the Constable did set themselves to raise Jealousies amongst them; and to that end, the King did not only give Don *Henry* leave to come to Court, but did also shew him much more Favour than he shewed to the King of *Navar*. Don *Henry's* Princess was likewise call'd to Court, and was met by the King some Miles, and treated with great tenderness; and to make her easie, he settled on her more than an Equivalent for the Marquisate of *Villena*. A Proclamation was likewise issued forth, declaring the Letters for which Don *Henry* had been imprison'd, to have been all forged by *Guadalajara* who had suffered Death for it.

Don *Henry's* coming into Favour so fast, did so alarm the King of *Navar* and his Friends, that they applied themselves to the Constable, offering, if he would join with them against Don *Henry*, to bring him back to Court. So little able is the Publick Good to hold People long together to promote it.

We are not told how far this Negotiation proceeded, nor whether the Constable was brought back by it to Court so soon as we find him there; but if he was, it is certain he quickly forgot all the Engagements he had entred into with the King of *Navar* and his Friends: But however that was brought about, the Constable returned to Court several Months before the term mention'd in the Sentence of his Banishment was expired; for within that term we find him there entertaining an *Infanta* of *Aragon*, as she passed through *Castile* to *Portugal*, (where she was to be married to the Prince of that Kingdom) with a most splendid Tournament of Fifty against Fifty White and Coloured; on which Festivity, tho' many acquitted themselves well, there was not one that came near to the Constable in any of the Exercises of good Horsemanship.

The Constable being now higher, if it were possible, in the King's Favour than before, and having brought a strong Guard with him, resolved to make use of his present great Power to disable the Nobles from Caballing any more against him. And the King, by his Advice, having summon'd all the Nobles together to that end, told them with an austere Countenance, " That tho' " he had, to his own and his Kingdom's " great Dishonour and Disservice, long suffered them to form Confederacies, and to " take Oaths of Fidelity one to another, he " would

“ would not endure such seditious Practices  
 “ any longer, but did expect to be obeyed  
 “ by them in all things, as their Natural  
 “ Lord and Sovereign, commanding them  
 “ all immediately in his presence to release one  
 “ another from all such Oaths of Fidelity,  
 “ and to promise never to take any more.”

After they had done that, he required them all (except the Arch-Bishops of *Toledo* and *Compostella*, and three or four Nobles whom he named) forthwith to repair to their Houses in the Country, and not to assemble together, nor presume to arm any of his Subjects without his Order. And to keep them all at home at their own Houses, he told them, “ The  
 “ Crown should not be any longer at the  
 “ Charge of Providing and Paying for their  
 “ Lodgings, if they came to Court at any  
 “ time without his Call.” The Princes and Nobles were stunn’d with this severe Speech of the King, or rather of the Constable, by whom they were sure it was made; but the strong Guard brought by the Constable about the King, made them hold their tongues, and dissemble their Resentment of it. Thus Parties, rather than submit to one another, or agree about the partition of Favour and Offices, will sacrifice both Themselves and the Publick Good to their Enemies.

The King of *Navar* having taken no notice of the Kings Command to all the Nobles to leave the Court, the King sent two Lawyers to him, to let him know, That now that



God had rais'd him to a Crown, it was convenient he should go to his Kingdom, which must needs suffer much by his absence ; and that as to the Concerns which he had in *Castile*, he did promise they should be carefully look'd after. This Message (tho' it was no more than he deserved, if, in opposition to his Brother Don *Henry*, he was instrumental in bringing back the Constable to the King) did gaul the King of *Navar* most terribly : He therefore bid the Lawyers tell the King, That it was in his thoughts to have gone speedily to *Navar*, tho' he had not been sent by him to it after so unkind a manner. Tho' there was nothing the Constable desir'd so much as to rid *Castile* of that King, yet being unwilling he should go out of it enrag'd against him, he made his court to him so effectually, that before he went, he prevailed with him to enter into a League Offensive and Defensive with the King ; into which he likewise brought his Brother the King of *Aragon*, by virtue of some Powers which he had from him. An Ambassador was sent into *Aragon* with this Peace, to have it ratify'd there ; and the Constable sent a Letter by him to that King, in which having lamented the great Differences that were between his two Brothers, the King of *Navar* and the Infante Don *Henry*, he intreated him to use his Endeavours to make them Friends, offering to assist him in so good a work as that would be to all *Spain* with his whole Strength. But



as the King of *Aragon* refus'd to ratifie that League, so the Constable's Complement was receiv'd by him very coldly. Immediately after he wrote to his Brother Don *Henry* to come to him to *Saragoça*, where he wanted to speak with him concerning some Affairs of great importance to them both. That Prince obtain'd leave of the King to go to *Aragon* only for twenty Days; but being got safe out of the *Castilian* Court, he did not return to it again till after many Years, and great Changes; nor did the Constable, after this, ever suffer either Him or his Princess to settle any more in *Castile*.

The Constable, by the clear Stage he had made to himself at Court, had drawn upon his head the Indignation of the whole House of *Aragon*, which at that time had in *Spain* two Kings, two Queens, and two Infantes both brisk Princes, besides the Queen-Consort of *Aragon* who was Sister to the King of *Castile*, and was entirely in the Interest of her Husband's Family. He did therefore, by threatening Embassies, endeavour to dissipate the great Storm he saw was gathering against him; and having had certain Intelligence that the Kings of *Aragon* and *Navar* did intend to enter *Castile* with their whole Forces, upon the single pretence of removing him from about the King, Ambassadors were immediately dispatched to both those Princes, to let them know, that if they came into *Castile* upon any pretence whatsoever without the King's

leave, they should be treated as publick Enemies.

When this Message was delivered to the King of *Navar*, he told the Ambassador, “ That considering the many great Services  
 “ he had done his Master, he could not wonder enough at it ; and that as they had  
 “ given him too much cause to return to  
 “ *Castile*, by the Injuries they had done him  
 “ there since he left it, and by the Affronts  
 “ they had put upon his Sister the Queen-  
 “ Consort ; so if he should have a mind to go  
 “ thither, ( considering he was a Native of  
 “ that Kingdom, and had an Estate in it )  
 “ the King’s denial of Leave was not only  
 “ an unkind thing, but was contrary to the  
 “ Laws of the Kingdom, for which, he said,  
 “ some that were about the King shewed  
 “ but little regard. He farther said, He did  
 “ not deny that he was very desirous to go  
 “ into *Castile* to speak with the King, if he  
 “ would but be pleased to grant him an Inter-  
 “ view, to lay before him the desperate estate  
 “ his Affairs were in, by the exorbitant  
 “ Power of some about him ; That he would  
 “ go to him without so much as a Guard,  
 “ and would leave *Castile* the same Day, if it  
 “ was the King’s Pleasure that he should do  
 “ so : Not that he was conscious to himself of  
 “ his having ever done any thing for which he  
 “ deserved to be banish’d his native Country. ”

An Answer much of the same nature was returned to the Message sent to the King of *Aragon*.  
 The

The Princes of the House of *Aragon* seeing plainly by these Messages, that the Constable was fully bent to extirpate them out of *Castile*, the better to establish his own Family in it, enter'd into a Confederacy to destroy that Mushroom of Favour who had the Confidence to attempt so great a thing: And the two Kings having joined their Troops, sent the King word, That if he would have allowed them an interview, at which they might have acquainted him with the bad Posture his Affairs were in, by reason of the Constable's boundless Power, they would have met him, not only without Troops, but without any Guard at all; but since that had been deny'd them by the strong influences of that *obnoxious Man*, they could not sit still and see his Highness (who was their own Blood) dishonour'd as He was, and his Kingdoms (of which they were Natives and Princes of the Blood) reduced to the brink of Ruin, without doing all that they were able to remedy it. At the same time, they gave the King all possible Assurances, that they had no other Design in coming into *Castile* with an Army, but only to rescue him out of the Hands of a Man, who, if he were let alone any longer, would ruin both his Crown and Kingdoms.

But by the Instigation of the Constable, who was it seems dearer to the King than all things else, a War was proclaim'd against both those Princes, and a Seizure made on all the Estates belonging to the King of *Navar*, and



the two Infantes his Brothers, who were got into *Castile*, and were raising Troops, with the popular pretence of pulling down the Constable.

The Constable, who was a Man not easily frightened, having got about him Three thousand Lances, and Two hundred Gennets, made long Marches to meet the two Kings, with a Resolution to give them Battle; and he had done it, if the Queen-Consort of *Aragon* had not prevented it, by pitching a Tent for her self in the mid-way between the two Armies as they stood in Array of Battle. She sent to the Constable to come and speak with her, and told him, her Concern on both sides was too great to suffer them to come to Blows: And having complain'd of the hard Usage the House of *Aragon* (which, she said, was one and the same with the King her Brother's own House) had of late met with in *Castile*, if three Articles were granted, she said she would undertake to perswade the King her Husband to march back into *Aragon* with his Army. The 1st was, That the King of *Navar* should have all his Lands in *Castile* restored to him. The 2d was, That the Infante Don *Henry* should have all his Lands and Offices restored to him. And the last was, That the Declaration of War made by the King her Brother against her Husband and the King of *Navar* should be revoked. The Constable said, It was not in his power to grant any of the things which she desired.

The



The Queen reply'd, *It might be so* ; but however, if he would promise upon his Word of Honour to do all that he was able to perswade the King to grant them, she would be satisfy'd. The Constable did promise her he would ; and upon that Promise, the King of *Aragon* returned with his Army ; notwithstanding the King of *Navar*, who knew the Constable better than either He or his Queen, was vehement not to trust him, but to fight it out with him. And so little confidence had the Queen in his Word of Honour, that the two Armies had no sooner turned their backs one on another, than she went directly to the Court of *Castile*, to try what she could do with her Brother before the Constable return'd to him from the Army. She was both kindly and splendidly entertained by the King ; but when she came to propose the *Articles* to him which the Constable had promised he would endeavour to perswade him to grant, he told her, The Differences betwixt him and the Princes of the House of *Aragon* were of so high a nature, that he could not give her an Answer before he had advised about it with his Council. This was all the Answer she could have from him till the Constable return'd to Court ; who apprehending that her business there was to do him ill offices, made all the haste he could to it. The King being instructed by his Constable, told her, That the Kings of *Aragon* and *Navar* had put such an Affront upon him, by entring his Kingdom in a  
hostile

hostile manner, that he was bound in Honour to march into *Aragon* after the same manner to demand Satisfaction: And when he saw his Sister much disturbed at this Answer, to sweeten her a little, he told her, That before he entred *Aragon*, he would, out of Respect to her, send an Overture of Peace to her Husband, and would never forget that she was his Sister.

The Queen, being a Woman of a Masculine Spirit, fell foul upon the Constable, whose Answer she said this was, and not the King's; and having reproach'd him with Perfidiousness, and given him a great many other hard Words, she took her leave of her Brother, and returned to *Aragon*. The King went half a League with her on her Way, and the Constable a whole League, to whom at parting she gave a thundring Reprimand, and concluded it with heavy Threatnings, for the great Dispersion he had made of the Royal Family. Which Threatnings were so far from terrifying the Constable, that he got a better Army about him than he had before, and put the King at the Head of it. The King, in compliance with the Promise he made to his Sister, sent a Proposition to the King of *Aragon* by the Bishop of *Palencia* before he entred his Country; which was such, that if he had made it to his Sister when she was at his Court, he knew very well she would have rejected it with Indignation, and not have done it the honour to carry it home  
with

with her. The Proposition was, *That he was ready to conclude a Peace with the King of Aragon, if he would promise not to afford the King of Navar nor the Infante Don Henry any manner of Assistance, but would leave them, as to all their Concerns in Castile, to the Justice of the Laws of that Kingdom.*

The King of Aragon's Answer to this Proposition was, *That seeing his Brothers so unjustly and furiously persecuted by one that was in great Power about the King, he could not promise not to assist them, without violating the Laws both of God and Nature; and that he hop'd the great Services which were done to the Crown and Kingdom of Castile by Don Ferdinand their Father, of Glorious Memory, were not so soon forgot in it, that the Three Estates of the Realm would suffer his Sons to be worried out of all that He had left them, for no other end, but to gratifie the Avarice of a little Upstart intoxicated with Power: And tho' he would not for the World forsake his two Brothers in their present great Distress, yet he should be glad to see Matters amicably composed between the King and Them, and should be always ready to lend his helping hand to it.*

After this Answer, the King marched immediately with his whole Army to Huerta a Town a League distant from Aragon. The Constable advanced five Leagues farther with Fifteen hundred Lances, Gennets, and Armed Men, and plunder'd and laid waste all the Country as he went; which struck such a  
Terror



Terror into the People, that *Montreal*, a strong Town which had a good Garison in it, opened its Gates to him as soon as he came before it. He afterwards plunder'd and burnt *Cetiva* a considerable Place, and all the Villages about it; when he had done that, he returned to *Huerta* laden with Spoils and the Curfes of the Country, for the great Devastations he had made in it: Which Devastations were the more resented, because he was a Native of *Aragon*, and took Sanctuary in it when he was banished *Castile* by the Queen-Regent. His *suppos'd* Father, and the Pope that gave him his Education, and the Archbishop of *Toledo* who first brought him into the *Castilian* Court, were all *Aragoneses*.  
 “ But the strongest Bonds of Gratitude are  
 “ weak Cords to hold such *Samsons* of Ambi-  
 “ tion as the Constable was.

The King, after the Constable was returned to him, did in a Bravado send an Herald at Arms to the Kings of *Aragon* and *Navar*, who were about *Calatyud*, to challenge them to Battle: But those Princes returning no Answer to that Challenge, the King marched back to *Castile*, and having garison'd all his Frontier Towns with his *Foot*, the Constable went with the *Horse* against the two *Infantes*, who had made themselves Masters of the Province of *Estramadura*.

But now that two Kings had not been able to stand before the Constable, the two  
*Infantes*,



*Infantes*, upon the Report of his coming against them with a great Force, retreated to *Alberquerque* a strong Town near the Borders of *Portugal*, whither they designed to retire, if they found themselves much distressed; the King of *Portugal* being their Uncle or First Cousin, and the Princess of it their Neice. *Trugillo*, and most of the other Towns the *Infantes* had made themselves Masters of, being retaken by the Constable, he made no attempt upon *Alburquerque*, (not being willing to be so long absent from the King as he believed he must be, if he undertook the Siege of that strong Place) but went to Court, and soon after brought the King along with him to lay Siege to it. The King spent some Days before it, and lost a great many Men; and finding that the best way to take it would be by Famine, he rais'd the Siege, and went to *Medina del Campo*, where he had call'd a Meeting of the *Cortes*, which he hop'd would have join'd with him in the Extirpation of the Princes of *Aragon*. But he was mistaken; for as the whole Body of the *Nobles* express'd a great aversion to it, so the *Procurators* of the *Commons* said, "They could not enter upon so great an Affair before they had sent to their Cities and Towns to know their Minds about it:" Which is the Answer they commonly give, when any thing is propos'd to them from the Throne that they do not like. But tho' the *Cortes* would not enter into the Constable's Measures,

fures, yet the King gave the Constable and his Creatures all the Lands belonging to the King of *Navar*, and gave moreover to the Constable the Administration of the Mastership of the Order of *St. James*, with which, tho' it was the highest and richest Office in *Castile*, he held the Constableship.

But as it is a *Curse* on *Favorites* to disregard every Body, and not to know when they have enough, the Constable gave no check to his avaricious Temper, and made very little account of the Envy he had brought upon himself, tho' he was sensible that there was not a *Prince* or *Princess* in *Spain* he had not made his Enemy, by his furious Persecution of the House of *Aragon*, to which they were all nearly related: Neither did he much regard the Hatred and Envy of the Nobles and People of *Castile*; for when a Friend told him, That if he went on accumulating Honours and Wealth thus, he would certainly raise such a spirit of Envy as would pull him down; He answer'd scoffingly, in allusion to our Saviour's Words, *Whatsoever comes to me I will in no wise reject*; which profane Lesson he must have learnt at the Papal Court where he had his Education, in which Simony and all the base and indirect ways of getting Money were publicly practised.

The King of *Navar*'s Lands in *Castile* being all taken from him and distributed amongst the Constable and his Creatures, his Queen's Ambassadors laid claim to them, in  
their

their Mistress's and her Eldest Son the Prince of *Viana's* Name, on whom with the King's consent they had been all settled in Marriage. The Ambassadors complain'd likewise of the present War made by the King upon their Mistress, as contrary to the Peace that was between them, in which it was stipulated, That he should never make any War upon her Kingdom but with the Consent and Approbation of the *Castilian Cortes*, which had never given its Consent to the present War. The Answer to the first Complaint, was, *That no such Marriage-Settlement appear'd on any Register in Castile.* An Answer very unworthy of a King, who having had the chief hand in making that Settlement, could not have so soon forgot it, tho' it was not registred. I don't find that any Answer was return'd to the Allegation, *That the War was Unlawful, without the Consent of the Cortes.* The true reason of which was, that the breaking the Power of that Court in all things relating to *Peace and War*, was a Work the Constable had on the Anvil at that time, and at which he was labouring with all his strength. And tho' the same or a greater Injury was done to Don *Henry's* Princess, by her Brother's seizing all her Husband's Lands and Offices, even her own Portion not excepted, yet she never made any application to the Court of *Castile* for Relief, well knowing it would be to no purpose, unless she would cringe to the Constable; which the

great



great contempt she had of him would not permit her to do, and therefore rather than do it, she chose to live in Exile all her days in great Want. Neither did the Queen-Dowager of *Aragon*, who liv'd altogether in *Castile*, escape the furious Persecution of the Constable ; for she was thrust into a Convent in *Tordesillas* much against her Will, and was forc'd to deliver up to the Constable the Castles of *Mont Alvan*, *Tiedras* and *Uruena*, which were her Dowry, and which she had a Power to dispose of by her Last Will.

The King of *Portugal* being sensibly touch'd with this violent Persecution of the Princes of the House of *Aragon*, who were all Princes of the Blood of *Castile*, and particularly of the Queen-Dowager, who I think was his Sister, sent two Ambassadors to the *Castilian* Court to offer his Mediation between the King and those Princes : And by the same Ambassadors the Prince of *Portugal* and his Brother the Infante Don *Peter* intreated the King not to suffer the Princes of his own Blood to be worried so unmercifully, to gratifie any Man. The King thanked his Brother of *Portugal* and his two Sons for their good Intentions, but said, He was certain that when they should once understand the Reasons for which he had treated those Princes in that manner, (with which they should in due time be acquainted) they would not say a word more in their behalf. However, the Queen-Dowager of *Aragon* was at their Inter-

cession



cession set at liberty, and had all her Lands and Castles restor'd to her, after Assurances given that she would 'not hold any Correspondence with her Sons.

The King of *Aragon*, being unwilling to be further imbroil'd upon his Brother's account with a *Favourite* that was not to be shaken, and being desirous to go in Person to *Italy* to expedite some Business of his own, obliged the King of *Navar* and his Queen to send Ambassadors along with his to the Court of *Castile*, to make a long Truce with that Crown if they could not obtain a Peace. The King of *Aragon's* Ambassador was the Bishop of *Lerida*; the King of *Navar's*, Don *Guillen de Vique*; and his Queen's, the Titular Arch-Bishop of *Tyre*. They had an Audience of the King in Council, where the Bishop of *Lerida* in a long Harangue display'd the great Services which his Master's Father, the Infante Don *Ferdinand*, and the King of *Navar*, had done to the Crown of *Castile*; concluding his Speech with severe Reflections on the Man, whoever he was, that, for his own private Ends, hinder'd the King from granting an Interview to those two Princes when they desir'd one, and who offer'd to come to it without any Guards. The Arch-Bishop of *Tyre* spoke much to the same purpose, only he added, That the Infante Don *Ferdinand* might have had the Crown of *Castile* to himself and his Heirs, if he would have accepted it, when his Brother the King's Father died.

But *Guillén de Vique*, instead of Haranguing, Challeng'd the Man to a Duel that hinder'd the Interview and was the Author of all the Evils and Miseries *Spain* had suffer'd since that time.

Tho' the Constable had not been nam'd by any of the Ambassadors, yet it was plain that He was the Person they all aim'd at both with their Tongues and Sword. Upon which He stood up in the Council and told them, " That they had been pleas'd to throw the  
" whole Blame of all the present Evils and  
" Disturbances in *Castile* upon him, as having  
" hinder'd an Interview which they seem'd  
" to believe would certainly have prevented  
" those Evils. He did not deny that he was  
" against the Interview, but said he would  
" quickly satisfy all that were present, that  
" those Princes had very ill Designs in their  
" Thoughts against the King and his King-  
" doms, when they desir'd it. To prove  
what he said, he produced certain Letters written by the King of *Aragon* to some of the Grandees of *Castile*, promising them great Lands and Offices if they would join with him in an Enterprize he had in hand. He said further, " That a certain Man about  
" the King had been solicited to enter into that  
" Confederacy, and had been offer'd great  
" Rewards if he would do it. He added,  
" He need not tell them who that Man was :  
" And then asked them what they thought  
" now of their harmless Interview ?

I don't

I don't find that the Ambassadors, tho' they knew the old Constable had been ruin'd by forged Letters, did object any thing against these. The Historian from whom I had this Account seems to have had some Suspicion of their having been forged by the Constable. The Ambassadors perceiving that the Constable was for continuing the War, applied themselves to the other Nobles who were of the Privy Council, telling them, " That it was a great Load on their Con-  
 " sciences to suffer such an unnatural War  
 " between Princes of the same Blood, only for  
 " a private and a very bad End." The Nobles being all of the same mind, a Treaty was set on foot, which ended in the granting of a Truce for Five Years, in which it was stipulated, " That the Party that broke that Truce  
 " should pay Two Millions of Crowns in  
 " Gold to the other. The main Article in this Truce was, " That the King of *Castile*  
 " should take an Oath, Not to do any Da-  
 " mage nor to suffer any to be done, during  
 " the time of this Truce, to the Goods of  
 " the Infantes Don *Henry* and Don *Peter*,  
 " and of his Sister the Infanta Donna *Cathe-*  
 " *rina* Don *Henry's* Wife, provided that  
 " none of the said Princes do within the  
 " said term come into any of His Highness's  
 " Dominions, nor send any Person into them,  
 " besides the Receivers of their Rents.

Now that the Publick was at quiet, the Constable was at leisure to marry a Second

Wife Donna *Joanna Pimentel* Daughter of the Conde *Beneventum*. The King was Father and the Queen Mother at the Wedding, and there were to have been splendid Doings, if they had not been hinder'd by the Death of the Bride's Grand-mother, which happen'd a few Days before. The Constable, who was a Man of an active Spirit, had not been long marry'd before he desired leave of the King to make an Incurſion into the Kingdom of *Granada* ; which being granted, great Levies of Men and Money were made for that Service ; and ſo fond was the King of his Conſtable's Company, tho' he was naturally no friend to Danger, that he went after him, and ſtay'd with him during the whole Expedition, which, by reaſon of the Conſtable's good Conduct, and great Courage, was very prosperous. The *Moors* were routed by him in ſeveral Rencounters ; and on occaſion of thoſe Victories, the Conſtable entertain'd the King and the whole Court with a ſplendid Tournament of Fifteen *Yellow* againſt Fifteen *White*. The King himſelf rode an Adventurer in it, and broke two Lances upon two of the Nobles that were *Maintainers*. After the Tournament was over he treated them all with a magnificent Supper ; for tho' he was a Man of inſatiable Covetouſneſs, yet that never hinder'd him from being Profuſe on all ſuch Occaſions.

In this height of the Conſtable's Glory News was brought to Court of the Arch-Biſhop



Bishop of *Toledo*'s being dead ; and tho' the several Prelates of the best Families in *Castile* struggled hard for that great Preferment, the Constable got it from them all for his *Uterine* Brother *John Cerezeula* Arch-Bishop of *Sevil*, a Man of no Worth, and of a very base Birth. But those Defects were abundantly supply'd by the Constable's great Power, to whom the King never denied any thing. And that nothing might be wanting to compleat the Happiness of this great *Favourite*, when his Lady was Deliver'd at *Madrid* of a Son, the King stood God-father, and gave him his own Name. At this Christning, the King, Queen, and the whole Court were entertain'd by the Constable with a sumptuous Dinner, and in the Evening with a Ball, and after the Ball with a noble Collation. The Present made by the King to the Constable's Lady, was a Ruby and a Diamond which cost a Thousand *Dubloons*.

The Princes and Princesses of the Blood being all removed out of *Castile* by the Constable, he began to fall upon the Nobles who were thought to be their Friends, as he reckon'd all those to be that were his Enemies. He began with the Duke of *Ariona* a near Kinsman of the King's, who being kindly invited to Court, was Arrested and made a close Prisoner as soon as he came there. He died soon after in Prison, and his Estate was given to Don *Fadrique Conde de Luna* an *Aragonese*, who dying in

a short time after of Poison, as it was suspected, those Estates came to the Constable, who had made himself his Heir.

Whilst their Enemy was thus triumphant in *Castile*, the Kings of *Aragon* and *Navar*, and their Brothers the Infantes Don *Henry* and Don *Peter*, with a great train of Nobles, were all taken Prisoners, as they were sailing to *Italy*, by a Fleet of the *Genoefes* which was going to the Relief of *Gaeta*. The *Genoese* Admiral was unwilling to fight, and desired the King of *Aragon* to let him proceed quietly on his Voyage : but the King imagining that the Admiral's backwardness to fight proceeded from Fear, attack'd the *Genoese*, and as the Saying is, caught a *Tartar* ; for his whole Fleet was either burnt, sunk, or taken, and the two Kings, the two Princes and the Nobles were all sent Prisoners to *Genoa*, but were presently set at liberty by the Duke of *Milan* under whose Protection *Genoa* was at that time. The Queen-Dowager of *Aragon*, who was a most tender Mother, and had long groaned under the Misfortuns of her Children, sunk away, and with a deep Sigh gave up her last Breath, when she heard of her four Sons being all taken Prisoners together at Sea. By her Will she left the Castle and Lordship of *Mont Alban* to her Daughter the Queen-Consort of *Castile*, hoping She might have Power enough to keep it from the Constable, who, she knew, had a great mind to it : But the Queen  
could

could not do it ; for before she was in possession of that Castle, the King solicited her to exchange it. The Queen begg'd, not to be compell'd to do a thing that would be so great a Disrespect to her dear Mother, as the parting with the last Token of her Love to her would be : But the King would not be deny'd, and so compell'd her to let it go, and to accept of the *Thirds* of the Village of *Ara-vela*, which the Constable call'd an *Equivalent*, tho' it was very far from being so ; those *Thirds* being a Revenue which ariseth out of *Papal Indulgences*, and which ought not to be apply'd to any other Use but to that of the carrying on of a War against *Infidels*. And as the Queen had never lov'd the Constable before, so she could hardly bear the sight of him after he had thus wrung her Mother's last Legacy from her.

The Five Years Truce being now near expiring, the Queen of *Aragon* ( whose Husband was still in *Italy*, and had there got to himself the Kingdom of *Naples* ) procur'd a Prolongation of it from her Brother, first for Three Months, and afterwards for Five Months. And before that term was expired a Peace was concluded at *Toledo*, in the Year 1436, between the three Crowns of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Navar*.

The main Articles of that Peace were as follow.

1<sup>st</sup>. “ That Don *Henry* Prince of *Asturias*  
 “ and Eldest Son to the King of *Castile* should  
 “ marry Donna *Blanca* Infanta of *Navar*,  
 “ and should have settled upon him the  
 “ Towns of *Medina del Campo*, *Olmeda*, *A-*  
 “ *randa*, *Roa*, and the Marquisate of *Vil-*  
 “ *lena* ; all which Places should return to  
 “ the Crown of *Castile*, in case that Prince  
 “ had no Children by the Infanta ; and that  
 “ the Rents of all those Places should be  
 “ paid to the King of *Navar* for four Years.

2<sup>dly</sup>. “ That the Infante Don *Henry*  
 “ should have Five Millions of Florins of  
 “ Gold, if he would quit all the Offices and  
 “ Estates which he had in *Castile* : That the  
 “ Infanta his Wife should have Fifty Millions  
 “ for her Portion ; and till that Sum was  
 “ paid (which which was never intended)  
 “ they should receive Three Millions of Flo-  
 “ rins Yearly.

3<sup>dly</sup>. “ It should not be lawful for the  
 “ Infantes Don *Henry* and Don *Peter*, or  
 “ either of them, to come at any time into  
 “ *Castile* without the King’s Leave.

*Castile* being thus clear’d of the Constable’s  
 most potent Enemies, he began to ride the  
 Nobles very hard who had joined with him  
 in the Persecution of those Princes ; and ha-  
 ving now, as he thought, nothing to fear but  
 the King’s Death, in order to provide against  
 that Blow, he laid in very early to be Favou-  
 rite to the Prince his Godson, and to that  
 end



end he was named by the King to be his Governor. And whereas it was impossible for him, through whose Hands all the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom went, to have leifure to discharge the Duties of that Office, he appointed one *Manuel de Lando* to be his Deputy, and charg'd his Brother the Archbishop of *Toledo* to be continually about the Prince. And as the Constable was continually either obtaining new Grants from the Crown, or changing worfe Lands for better, *Pero Manrique Adelantado* of *Leon*, who for some Years had been his great Familiar, fell under the Constable's high Displeasure, for presuming to contradict the change of *Guadalajara* and *Talavera* for some better Towns. That great Lord, who knew the Constable's Temper very well, being sensible that it would not be long before he should find the ill Effects of his great Power, resolv'd to be before-hand with him, and accordingly he told the King freely one day, " That the  
 " Constable's exorbitant Power, and the ill  
 " Use he made of it, would, if let alone,  
 " ruine both His Highness and his King-  
 " doms." The King made no Answer, but on the next Council-day spoke to *Manrique* to go with the Constable to his Lodgings. They Dined together that Day, and after Dinner the Constable left his Lodgings to *Manrique* for his Prison. The Imprisonment of the *Adelantado* so alarmed the whole Kingdom, that no Body thought himself safe  
 either

either in his Person or Estate whilst the Constable had so much Power join'd with so little Conscience. The Nobles who had fate still with too great tameness, and had been Spectators of the illegal Persecution of the House of *Aragon*, seeing now that the Tempest of Power was ready to break upon their own Heads, began to meet together and consult how a stop might be put to it. And so sensible was the King and his Constable of this universal great Discontent, that, to allay it, the King sent to the Admiral to come to him to consult how Matters might be accommodated to the Satisfaction of his Family. The Admiral sent back word, " That the Treachery of  
 " some Men was so visible, that he durst not  
 " venture to wait on his Highness, unless  
 " he would send him *Letters of Security*  
 " under his own Hand." The King sent him such Letters, and with them the Admiral waited upon him; and after divers Conferences it was agreed, " That the *Adelantado*  
 " should be under a Confinement for  
 " two Years, but should not be made a close  
 " Prisoner." And accordingly the *Adelantado* was sent from *Burgos* to *Fonte Duena* under a Guard of Two hundred Horse, but was *there*, in contradiction to the Agreement, made a close Prisoner in the Castle. It is like he was not sorry that it was so, being by that means more at liberty to make his Escape, than he would have been under an easie Confinement, and upon his Parol of Honour  
 not

not to have attempted it. His Lady, who was the King's near Kinswoman, and his two Daughters, shut themselves in with him, and in short time help'd him to make his Escape in the Night by Cords fasten'd to his Prison-Window. The Ladies likewise got out of the Castle by the same way, and before it was Light arriv'd at *Enzinas* a Fortrefs belonging to the *Conde de Ledesma* who was their near Kinsman, and a great Enemy of the Constable's. From thence they were conveyed the next Day by the Admiral to his strong Town of *Rioseca*, where a great number of Nobles and Bishops met, and sent a Letter to the King, supplicating him, "As  
 " he desir'd to preserve his Own Grandeur  
 " and his Kingdoms from Ruine, to remove  
 " the Constable from his Presence and Councils, against whose innumerable Tyrannies  
 " and Oppressions, they, as Grandees and  
 " Nobles of the Realm, were bound both  
 " by the Laws of GOD and the Laws of the  
 " *Land* to Remonstrate, and to endeavour the  
 " Redress of all those Grievances. To that  
 " end, they desired that one of two things  
 " might be granted them : Either that the  
 " Constable and all his Creatures should  
 " leave the Court for some time, that they  
 " might come thither with Safety, to lay  
 " all his Tyrannies and Male-administrations  
 " before his Highness ; or if this was not  
 " granted, That He would be pleased to send  
 " to them the *Conde's* of *Haro* and *Castro*,  
 " the

“ the Master of *Calatrava*, and the Bishop  
“ of *Palencia*, (who were all kept Prisoners  
“ by the Constable) to hear all that they  
“ had to object against Him.” The King  
having about Him Two thousand Lances,  
which he had establish’d to be the Standing  
Guard of his Person, and the *Conde de Ri-*  
*bodeo* being returned with Three thousand  
Veteranes which the Constable sent him to  
hire in *France*, gave no Answer to the No-  
bles, being resolved to fight it out with them,  
rather than part with the Constable. And  
to strengthen himself the more against the  
Nobles, he clapt up a new Peace with the  
King of *Aragon* and the King of *Navar*, and  
offer’d to restore to the King of *Navar* and  
to the Infante Don *Henry* all their Lands and  
Offices in *Castile*, if they would join with him  
against the Male-contented Nobles. To make  
sure of that King, the Marriage which some  
Years before had been concluded between the  
Prince of *Castile* and that King’s Daughter,  
was now to be consummated.

Upon this Invitation, the King of *Navar*  
and his Brother Don *Henry* entred *Castile*  
together with a good Body of Troops, but  
parted when they were within a Day’s March  
of the Court. The King of *Navar* went to  
*Cuellar*, where he was kindly receiv’d both  
by the King and the Constable; and the  
Infante Don *Henry* went to *Panasiel*, being  
afraid, ’tis probable, to trust the Constable so  
far as to be both together in his Hands. And  
tho’



tho' Don *Henry* receiv'd an exprefs Command from the King, Not to go near the Nobles, nor to hold any Correspondence with them; yet being invited by them to come to *Valedolid*, which was their Head-Quarters, he went thither, and join'd with the Nobles to destroy his old Enemy.

The King of *Navar* and Don *Henry* had feveral Conferences, at one of which the King himfelf was prefent, in order to accommodate Matters; but the King declaring that he would not part with the Conftable, (which was the thing the Nobles chiefly infifted on) nothing could be done. When no hopes remain'd of feeing thofe Differences ended by any other way than by the Sword, fome Friars went boldly to the King and told him, “ That if He did not comply with the Sup-  
 “ plications of the Nobles, he would cer-  
 “ tainly ruine both Himfelf and his King-  
 “ doms; and if he brought it to a War, the  
 “ Guilt of all the Blood that was fhed in it  
 “ would be charged to his Account at the  
 “ Divine Tribunal.” This did fo terrifie the King, who was very fuperftitious, that he told the Friars, *He would do any thing they fhould direct him, to compofe the prefent Difficulties amicably.* The Friars answer'd, “ They would not take that upon them-  
 “ felves.” Immediately after they went to *Valedolid*, and acquainted the Nobles with the King's Difpofition to Treat with them. The Nobles faid, “ They were glad to hear  
 “ it;

“ it ; and as they aim’d at nothing but the  
 “ King’s Service and the Good of his King-  
 “ doms, so they were ready to set a Treaty  
 “ on foot for the obtaining of those Ends.”  
 Which Answer being carried by the Friars to  
 the King, he call’d the Constable to him,  
 and told him all that the Friars had said and  
 done. The Constable, who hated Friars  
 mortally as his most dangerous Enemies by  
 reason of the King’s great Superstition, said,  
 “ That for his own part he was ready to  
 “ submit to any thing that his Highness  
 “ would have him do, only he desir’d him  
 “ to take care not to be misled and deceived  
 “ by those He was to Treat with.” Upon  
 this Answer the King call’d a great Council,  
 at which the Queen, the Prince, and the  
 King of *Navar* were present : Where it was  
 agreed, That for the conveniency of *Treating*,  
 the King, the Queen, the Prince and the  
 Constable should be at *Castro-Nunnes*, the  
 King of *Navar* at *Val de Fuentes*, and Don  
*Henry* and the Admiral at *Albeios*, all which  
 Places were within the compass of two  
 Leagues, where, after a few Meetings and  
 Conferences, the following Articles were a-  
 greed on.

1<sup>st</sup>. “ That the Constable should leave the  
 “ Court for Six Months, and during that  
 “ time should never Write to the King, nor  
 “ Treat with any about any thing to the pre-  
 “ judice of the King of *Navar* or of his  
 “ Brother the Infante Don *Henry*.

2<sup>dly</sup>. “ That

2dly. “ That all the Towns and Villages  
 “ which were taken from that King and the  
 “ Infante should be either restor’d to them, or  
 “ they should have an *Equivalent* for them ;  
 “ of which *Equivalent*, one named by the  
 “ King, and another by those Princes, shall  
 “ be Judges ; and in case they don’t agree,  
 “ it shall be determin’d by the Prior of the  
 “ *Benedictines* in *Valedolid*.

3dly. “ That all that are in Arms on both  
 “ sides shall be forthwith Disbanded.

*Lastly*. “ That there should be a general  
 “ *Indemnity* ; and all the Processes, which  
 “ have been against Don Henry, shall be de-  
 “ clared null and void.

These Articles being sign’d and sworn to  
 by all Parties on the 29th of *October* 1439,  
 the Constable left the Court the same Day,  
 attended by his Brother the Arch-Bishop of  
*Toledo*, and divers other Persons of Quality,  
 who reckon’d he would neither be long absent  
 from the King, nor would have the less Power  
 with him. He intended to have lodg’d at  
*Tordesillas*, but the Gates of that Town were  
 shut against him, so he went on to *Sepulveda*  
 a Town the King gave him a Grant of at  
 parting as an *Equivalent* for *Cuellar*, which  
 was to be restored to the King of *Navar*.

The Constable, before he left the Court,  
 had a secret Meeting with the Admiral, at  
 which he offer’d to leave his full Power in  
 the King with him, if he would desert the  
 Princes of *Aragon*. The Admiral, tho’ he  
 knew

knew the Constable could do that, rejected the Proposition, and said he would adhere to the Confederates. But what the Admiral had rejected was accepted of by the Arch-Bishop of *Sevil*, who soon appear'd to be *Deputy-Favourite*, and within a few Days after the Constable left the Court, perswaded the King to steal away from the Nobles, under pretence of going out one Morning to Hunt. He went first to *Hercaro*, from thence to *Camtalapidra*, and from thence to *Salamanca*, where he was forced to lodge in a Private House, the Palace being deny'd to him by the Arch-Deacon of that Church, who had fill'd its Tower with Soldiers. The Confederate Nobles being much surpriz'd at the King's leaving them so soon, and in so clandestine a manner, went after him to *Salamanca*: But the King having notice that they were coming, left the City in the Night, and went to *Bonilla* with an intention to have gone on to *Abula*; but a Message being sent him, That unless he return'd to the Confederate Nobles, that City would shut its Gates against him, he remain'd at *Bonilla*, and from thence writ to the Nobles for Letters of *Security* for the Arch-Bishop of *Sevil* and some other Deputies he intended to send to Treat with them. Which Letters being granted, that Arch-Bishop and the other Deputies went to *Abula*, to which the Confederate Nobles were already come. Being asked by the King's Deputies, What they had

had



had to object against the Constable? they put an *Impeachment* of him into their hands, which they promised to deliver to the King: Which *Impeachment* being very long, I have put it in an *Appendix*; because if it were inserted here, it would break the thread of the Story too much. It consists of twelve long Articles, in which the Constable is charg'd with all the Male-administrations a First Minister can well be guilty of, and concludes with the following Supplication.

“ We do therefore, most Powerful Lord,  
 “ supplicate Your Royal Majesty, with all the  
 “ Reverence and Loyal Intentions of Faithful  
 “ Subjects and Vassals, that you would be  
 “ pleas'd to give Order for the Restitution of  
 “ your own Liberty and Royal Authority,  
 “ which has been so long usurp'd by your  
 “ Constable.

The Nobles waited several Days, and had no Answer from the King concerning their *Impeachment* of the Constable. They sent some Deputies to desire him to call a *Cortes*, to consider the State of the Kingdom, and to redress its great Grievances. The King said a *Cortes* should be call'd, but fix'd no Time for Calling them; and so far was he from thinking the worse of his Constable for the great *Tyrannies* and *Oppressions* he had been charg'd withal by the Nobles, that to secure him, if it were possible, he endeavour'd to make him the young Prince's *Idol* as much as he was his own: And to that end, the

Prince's Family was settled at this time, and the Constable was made his *Major-Domo* by the King ; which, it was hop'd would, have so dishearten'd his Enemies, as to make them give over persecuting him any longer. But this kind Intention of the King's had not the Success that was expected from it ; for the Prince had not had a Family long, before he was perswaded by Don *John Pacheco* a young Nobleman plac'd by the Constable about him, to leave both his Father and his *Major-Domo* to join with the Nobles. The Queen-Consort did the same, and join'd heartily with them to pull down her own and her Family's great Enemy. The Nobles seeing plainly there was no coming at the Constable either by Treaties or in the way of Law, and being now very strong, resolv'd to fall upon him and ruine him by Force : And it being agreed among them, that they should enter his Lands with Fire and Sword, they first revok'd the *Letters of Security* which they had granted to his Lands upon the King's Promise to call a *Cortes*. Afterwards they sent him a *Defiance* by a Herald : And to prevent the King's giving them a Diversion by Invading their Lands, at the same time they sent a *Supplication* to him not to do it to his own and his Kingdom's great Dishonour and eminent Disservice ; adding withal, That if he did make such an Attempt, they, as Persons aggriev'd, should be forc'd to make use of the Means which the *Laws of the Land* allow'd

allow'd them in such Cases, but so as not to lay aside the Reverence and Loyalty which are due to his Royal Person. All the Answer the King return'd to the Deputies, by whom this Message was deliver'd, was, *I have heard you* ; being resolv'd to support his Constable if he was attack'd. The Constable being sure of that, accepted the Nobles *Defiance* ; and having Intelligence that the Admiral was march'd from *Arevalo* to enter his Lands, he writ to his Brother the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo* to meet him at *Casarruvias* a Town belonging to the Admiral. The two Brothers met there, and kept the Field with Six hundred Horse a whole Day and a Night in very bad Weather to fight the Admiral if he had come : But the Admiral not appearing, the Constable return'd home to *Maqueda* with his Troops, and the Arch-Bishop with his to *Ulescas*, triumphing because his Challengers had fail'd to meet him.

The Admiral, when he heard of that Triumph, sent a second Herald to the Constable, to tell him, “ That whereas he had  
 “ publish'd, That in Answer to the *Defiance*  
 “ which was sent him, he had waited a Day  
 “ and a Night at *Casarruvias* to have given  
 “ him a Meeting, (tho' at the same time he  
 “ could not but know that he had not then  
 “ left *Arevalo* ) he did promise, That if he  
 “ would return to *Casarruvias* again, he  
 “ would order that Place, which belong'd to  
 “ him, to furnish him and his Company with



“ all Necessaries until he came to him.” To this second Challenge the following Answer was return’d by the Constable; “ That as by the Advices he had receiv’d “ of their Motions, he had reason to believe “ they would have been at *Casarruvias* when “ he stay’d for them there; so if they were “ so hot in pursuing their Defiance, they “ ought to name the Time and Place where “ they should meet; and when they had done “ that, he did promise they should be gratified.” In Answer to which, the Admiral sent him Word, “ That on *Tuesday* the “ 2d of *March*, he would not fail to meet “ him in the Fields of *Maqueda*.” The Constable desir’d it might be prorogu’d till the *Saturday* following; which he did, that he might have Time to send for his Brother to come to him, and to draw his own Men out of his Castles: But the Admiral would not grant that, but sent him Word, “ That since “ he had entred his Lands in his Absence, “ he would on the aforesaid Day enter his “ in his Presence; and if he came out “ of *Maqueda*, would break a Lance with “ him.

The King, when he saw the Admiral and the Constable ready to come to Blows, dispatch’d *Pero Carillo* his Chief Falconer with Letters to them both, forbidding them to meet, upon pain of his high Displeasure. *Carillo*, who was a Creature of the Constable’s, found the Admiral before *Maqueda*, and  
would



would have been made a Prisoner for coming without Letters of *Security*, if *Pero Quinones* had not help'd him to make his Escape.

The Admiral stay'd four Days before *Maqueda* committing great Ravages on the Country, and seeing the Constable did not offer to come out to him, he went to *Ulescas*, where the Arch-Bishop was. When the Arch-Bishop heard that the Admiral was coming toward him, he left that Place and fled to *Madrid*. The Admiral entred *Ulescas*, and sold every thing he met with there that belong'd to the Arch-Bishop. He did the same at *Complutum* and in several other of his Towns, and at last in *Toledo* it self. The Arch-Bishop writ to his Dean to lay that City under an Interdict for joining with the Admiral; but the Dean refus'd to do it, and appeal'd from the Arch-Bishop to the Pope. The Constable finding he was not able alone to grapple with so many powerful Enemies, left his own Lands and fled to the Court for Sanctuary. The King receiv'd him joyfully, and was presently engag'd by him to fall upon the King of *Navar's* Towns and Lands, which he knew would fetch the Nobles out of his own. *Olmeda* and *Medina*, which belong'd to the King of *Navar*, were both deliver'd up to the King; but before he had left the latter, it was invested by the Confederate Troops, which were by Night let into it by their Correspondents. When the King heard

that the Nobles had entred the Town, he spoke to the Constable and his Brother the Arch-Bishop to save themselves, which they both did by flying to *Escalona*. The Arch-Bishop of *Sevil* was then sent by the King to the Admiral to command him to come to him. The Admiral went, and assur'd the King that all his Friends had no other than Loyal Intentions. The King had the same Assurances from the King of *Navar*, the Infante Don *Henry*, and all the rest of the Nobles, who waited upon him and kiss'd his Hand. The Queen whom he had not seen in some Months before, her Sister the Queen of *Portugal* who was come into *Castile* to complain of some Wrongs that had been done her, and the Prince his Son, did all wait upon him. The King seem'd to be well pleas'd with what they had done, and did not in the least oppose the seizing on all that they met with that belong'd to the Constable, or to his Brother the Arch-Bishop, or to any of his Creatures.

The Queen and Prince being now the Heads of the Confederate Nobles, commanded all that were known to be Friends to the Constable, the Arch-Bishop of *Sevil*, and the Bishop of *Segovia*, to leave the Court immediately. And the Differences which were between the Confederated Nobles and the Constable having being all referr'd to the Queen, the Prince, the Admiral, and the Conde de *Alva*, the following Sentence against

against the Constable was agreed on by them all :

“ We the Queen Donna *Maria*, and the  
 “ Prince Don *Henry*, and Don *Fadrique* Ad-  
 “ miral of *Castile*, and Don *Fernan Alvarez*  
 “ *de Toledo Conde de Alva*, being appointed  
 “ by our Lord the King Judges of all the  
 “ Differences which have been and are de-  
 “ pending between Don *John* King of *Navar*,  
 “ and the Infante Don *Henry* and the Nobles  
 “ on their side, and the Constable Don *Al-*  
 “ *varo de Luna* and his Friends on the other  
 “ side, do, upon a perfect Information of all  
 “ that has ever pass’d between them, find,  
 “ that we ought to pronounce and accord-  
 “ ingly we do pronounce the following *Sen-*  
 “ *tence*.

“ Forasmuch as we do know that it will  
 “ certainly be for the Service of God and of  
 “ the King, and for the Peace and Quiet of  
 “ his Kingdoms, We do Ordain, Command  
 “ and Pronounce, That Don *Alvaro de Luna*  
 “ Constable shall for Six complete Years, to  
 “ commence from the Date hereof, live either  
 “ in his Town of *St. Martin de Vall*, or in  
 “ that of *Riaca*, between which and on his  
 “ own Lands that are about them he may go  
 “ as often as he will ; and that during the  
 “ said term of Six Years he shall not come  
 “ to the Court of our Lord the King, nor  
 “ shall go to any other Place. And where-  
 “ as should the said Constable, during the  
 “ said term of Six Years, write any Letters



“ or send any Messengers to our Lord the  
 “ King, it may be suspected that he has  
 “ mov’d Him to something, that may give  
 “ Offence : For the preventing of that, We  
 “ do Declare, Command and Pronounce,  
 “ That the said Constable shall not, during  
 “ the term of Six Years, write or send any  
 “ Messengers to the King concerning any  
 “ Matters beside his own or his Friends  
 “ private Affairs ; and that whatever he  
 “ writes to the King, a true Copy of it shall  
 “ transmitted to the Queen and Prince.

“ We do also Supplicate the King, and  
 “ Command the Constable, during the said  
 “ term of Years, not to make any Alliances  
 “ or Leagues with any Person of what De-  
 “ gree or Quality soever concerning any of  
 “ the present Differences.

“ We do likewise Declare, Pronounce and  
 “ Ordain, That all Nobles, Gentlemen and o-  
 “ thers, except his own Menial Servants, shall  
 “ leave him and repair to their own Houses ;  
 “ and that the said Constable and his Brother  
 “ the Arch-Bishop shall not, after Thirty  
 “ Days from the Notification of this Sentence  
 “ to them, have above Fifty Men in their  
 “ Retinue.

“ We do farther Command and Pronounce,  
 “ That the said Constable shall give and do  
 “ give Nine of his Castles for Security that  
 “ he will observe this Sentence, to wit, the  
 “ Castles of *Sanistevan, Ayllon, Madervelo,*  
 “ *Langa, Reias, Mont Alvan,* and the Castles

“ of



“ of *Vayrela*, *Escalona* and *Maqueda*, to  
 “ those to whom we shall Command him to  
 “ deliver them.

“ And we do farther Command, That the  
 “ said Persons to whom these Castles shall  
 “ be delivered do take an Oath to keep and  
 “ hold them for the said Security, and not to  
 “ deliver any of them back to the said Con-  
 “ stable : And We do supplicate our Lord  
 “ the King, Not to demand any of those  
 “ Castles from the Persons, who shall take  
 “ the said Oath.

“ And for further Security, We do Ordain  
 “ and Command the said Constable to de-  
 “ liver within Thirty Days Don *John* his  
 “ eldest Legitimate Son to the *Conde* of *Be-*  
 “ *nevente*, that he may keep him as a *Pledge*  
 “ during the said Six Years.

There were a great many more Articles in  
 this Sentence which I omit, as either not re-  
 lating to the Constable, or as not being very  
 material.

The two former Sentences against the Con-  
 stable having been both visibly defeated by  
 the Divisions which he had sown among  
 those that had procur'd them ; that *This*  
 might not have the same fate, the Queen,  
 the Prince, the King of *Navar* and his  
 Brother, and all the Nobles of their Party,  
 did take an Oath, “ That no one of them  
 “ should seek to have the King's Favour  
 “ more than another, and that they would  
 “ never enter into any Correspondence with  
 “ the

“ the Constable.” Which Oath was observ’d as such Oaths us’d to be, as we shall see hereafter.

The *Conde de Castro* therefore, to link them closer together than he believ’d that Oath would do, perswaded the King of *Navar*, who was a Widower, to marry a Daughter of the *Admiral’s*; and the Infante Don *Henry*, who was a Widower likewise, to marry a Daughter of the *Conde Benevente’s*. Tho’ this last Lady was either Sister or Neece to the Constable’s Wife, yet it was no impolitick Match; since I don’t find that any of her Great Family were ever Friends to the Constable, being displeas’d, ’tis probable, for mixing her *Noble* with his *Base* Blood.

This third Sentence, as it was the severest that had been pass’d on the Constable, so it was for many reasons the most likely to hold. Nevertheless, the Constable did not despair so far of the virtue of his former Method as not to try it once more : And as if the chief place in the King’s Favour had been a thing in his Gift, he offer’d it to the Admiral during his absence from the Court. After he had refus’d it, he offer’d it to the King of *Navar*; and upon his refusal, he offer’d it to the Infante Don *Henry*; and gave every one of them all possible Assurances, That if they would join with him and fetch him back to Court, he would serve them faithfully to the utmost of his Power. Which secret Negotiation of the Constable’s was brought to light by

by those three Princes comparing Notes together. Tho' after all, it was believ'd, that the true reason of rejecting what was offer'd by the Constable, was, That they durst not trust him. This unusual firmness in his Enemies wrought such a Despair in the Constable of ever being able to weather this Storm, that that he began to have some thoughts of retiring into *Portugal* where he had purchas'd some Friends. And as great Misfortunes do seldom come alone, he receiv'd another great blow at this time by the death of his Brother the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo* who was a considerable Support to him.

When the Admiral heard of this Vacancy, he begg'd *Toledo* of the King for his Nephew Don *Gutier de Osorio* Bishop of *Palencia*; to whom the King not only promis'd it, but also writ to the Pope in his favour. But the Arch-Bishop of *Sevil*, who had been banish'd the Court not many Weeks before, for being the Constable's Creature and Deputy, had since that time given the King of *Navar* and his Brother such Assurances of his having left the Constable and devoted himself entirely to their Interests, that he prevail'd with them to procure for him that Arch-Bishoprick; and to give the Admiral some Satisfaction *That* of *Sevil* was given to his Nephew. But that Prelate being still in his heart a great Friend to the Constable, he was not long in that high Station before he let the King of *Navar* and his Brother understand  
how



how much they had been impos'd on by his Professions. The King, to prevent the Constable's Friends from deserting him, upon a conceit of his being out of favour, stood God-father to the Constable's Daughter born at this time at *Escalona*, which Place was not yet deliver'd up by the Constable, tho' the *Sentence* requir'd it; and the King celebrated that Festivity at his own Expence with extraordinary Expressions of Joy.

Don *Lope Barrientes* Bishop of *Abula*, who would have been banish'd the Court as a Creature of the Constable's if he had not been the Prince's Chaplain, contracted a great Friendship with *Pacheico* the Prince's Favourite, a young Nobleman of great Ambition, and having screw'd himself into his graces so far as to be the absolute Master of his spirit, he told him, He could never expect any great Matters from the Prince so long as he was join'd with the Nobles; and farther, That his having perswaded the Prince to leave his Father, could not but be a load upon his Conscience. *Pacheico* ask'd him what he would have him do? The Bishop answer'd, I would have you perswade the Prince to join with the Constable and his Friends to take his Father out of the hands of the Nobles, by whom he was kept as a Prisoner; which, he said, he believ'd might be done with ease, if he could but perswade the Prince to go and spend some time at *Segovia*, under pretence of going thither to Hunt. *Pacheico* promis'd



promis'd that should be done ; and so it was, notwithstanding the King of *Navar* and the Admiral did all that they were able to hinder it. They desir'd the Prince, since he would go, that he would not suffer the Bishop of *Abula* to be there with him. The Prince told them that the Bishop was to go with him to *Segovia*, but that he should not stay with him there, but should return to his own Palace in *Bonilla*. The Bishop, as he was on his Way to *Segovia* with the Prince, sent a Friend to the Constable, to desire him to lay aside all thoughts of retiring into *Portugal*, since he did not despair of making the Prince and him Friends. The Constable thank'd the Bishop for his good Intentions, but said there were three things to be fear'd in entring into any Negotiation with the Prince : *1st*, That the Prince, tho' he were his Friend, would not be able to make head against the King of *Navar* and the Confederated Nobles. *2dly*, That the Prince, who was very young, would scarce have patience to go through with such an Enterprize. *3dly*, That such a Negotiation might under-hand be set on foot by the Admiral, to whom *Pacheico* was nearly Related, on purpose to destroy him with the more ease and dispatch. The Bishop bid him lay aside all Suspicions, and reconcile himself to the Prince, if he wish'd well to the King's Service, and to his own and Family's Preservation ; and to encourage him to do it, he told him he was sure of the Arch-Bishop

of

of *Toledo*, and likewise of his Nephew the *Conde de Alva*, and three or four *Conde's* more whom he nam'd. The Constable answer'd, That tho' nothing could remove his Jealousies, yet his great Zeal to serve his Master would make him overlook them, so that they should not be able to hinder him from joining with the Prince to set the King at liberty. The Bishop upon this went privately to the Constable, and in the Prince's Name entred into a strict Alliance with him to destroy the great Power of the King of *Navar* and his Friends, in order to set the King at liberty, and both Parties took an Oath to observe this Alliance strictly.

This Negotiation, tho' manag'd with great Secrecy, had made such discoveries of it self, that the King of *Navar* and his Friends, suspecting the Prince to be entred into some Correspondence with the Constable, press'd him hard to return to Court, that they might, according to the Oaths which he and they had taken, consult together how to destroy the Constable as a publick Enemy to the King and Kingdom. The Prince, who was not to do any thing upon the foot of his new Alliance before the King was acquainted with it, (which was very difficult, because he was continually besieg'd by the King of *Navar's* Creatures) came to Court accordingly with greater professions than ever of an implacable Enmity against the Constable, and of his resolution to destroy him.

The

The Prince, when he first visited his Father, took the Bishop of *Abula* along with him; and the King, according to the Instructions given him, call'd that Prelate aside from the Company. The Bishop then said to the King, *Sir, Our Discourse must be very short.* The King asked him what he thought of his Condition? The Bishop answer'd, *I think it is very bad, but a Remedy will be found for it.* What is it? said the King. The Prince, Sir, said the Bishop, *who has entred into an Alliance with your Constable, will not fail to remedy it quickly.* Is that certain? said the King. It is, Sir, said the Bishop; and if your Highness will keep your Bed to morrow, under a pretence of being indispos'd, the Prince will wait on you, and assure you of its being true. The King accordingly, pretending he had a Cold, kept his Bed the next day, and the Prince, the Bishop, and *Pacheico* went together to visit him. The Bishop being call'd by the King to his Bed's-side, did with great secrecy put a Paper into the King's Hand, whispering to him, That he was to deliver it to the Prince. The King did so; and at the same time the Prince did put another Paper into the King's Hand; by which Writings they promis'd one another to do all that they were able to destroy the Power of the King of *Navar* and his Friends, and to bring back the Constable to Court. This exchange of *Papers* was made so dexterously that it was not observ'd by any of the King

of



of *Navar's* Creatures that were in the Room : But the King himself, by the unusual Joy which sat all day on his Countenance, made a discovery that some such things had pass'd at this Visit. Upon that the Admiral call'd the Bishop to him, and ask'd him *what it was that had made the King so Merry ?* Nothing that I know of, said the Bishop, unless it were some *Jests* which the Prince made on past things, to divert his Father from Melancholy. You had best have a care, said the Admiral, how you have any more Discourse with the King ; for the King of Navar is so jealous of you already, that a small matter more will turn you out of the Place you are in about the Prince. The Bishop reply'd, He wonder'd how the King of Navar could be jealous of him, as if he could be capable of doing any thing contrary to the Prince's Interests or Inclinations. However, so strong were the Jealousies of the King of Navar and his Friends that something was working to save the Constable, that they were in greater haste than ever to destroy the Constable ; and they wou'd fain have had the Prince to have gone about it immediately, but he told them he would not till he return'd from *Segovia*, whither he was resolv'd to go at present : But to give some Satisfaction to the King of Navar, in whose Hands he was, he promis'd to meet Him and his Friends on a certain Day at *Arevela*, to rid *Castile* of the Constable, with whom he pretended



tended to be more angry than ever he had been. The Prince having entred into these fresh Engagements to destroy the Constable, by the Directions of the Bishop of *Abula*, ask'd the Bishop, as he was on his Way to *Segovia*, *how it could be possible for him, if he met the King of Navar and his Friends at Arevela, not to join with them?* The Bishop answer'd, *He would take care of that.*

The Bishop went to *Arevela*, and as Lord of that Town, appointed Lodgings for the Prince and all that were to come with him within the Gates. He order'd Lodgings likewise within the Gates for the King of *Navar* and all the Nobles that were to come; but he quarter'd their Guards and other Attendants without the Gates in the Suburbs, at a considerable Distance from them. When the King of *Navar's* Servants, who had been sent before to lay in Provisions, complain'd of this as incommodious and dangerous, the Bishop said he could not help it, seeing there was not room enough in the Town for their great Retinues. This Distribution of the Lodgings look'd so like a Trap set for the King of *Navar*, that as soon as he had notice of it, he sent the Prince word, That unless their Lodgings were otherwise order'd, He and his Friends could not come to *Arevela* with safety. The Prince took no notice at all of this Message, but came to *Arevela* on the day appointed; and not finding the King of *Navar* and his Friends there, he sent them

word, That he could not but resent their breach of Faith with him, and that he could impute their failure to meet him to nothing else but a secret Inclination in them to save the Constable. He told them likewise, That he look'd on himself as releas'd from all the Engagements he had ever enter'd into with them to destroy him. And tho' the King of *Navar* and his Friends offer'd to come to him to *Arevela*, if the Bishop would alter the dangerous disposition of their Lodgings, or, if that could not be effected, to meet him at *Olmeda*, and did withal give him all possible Assurances of their being for just Reasons more zealous than ever to have the Constable destroy'd; the Prince would not hearken to them, but still maintain'd that their failing to meet him at *Arevela* was a Demonstration of their being willing to save him, notwithstanding all their Professions to the contrary. This stiff *Pretence*, which was certainly the most senseless and shameless that was ever made use of by a Prince, or by any body else, oblig'd the Admiral to go to *Arevela* to try if he could make the Prince recede from it. He there repeated all the forementioned Offers and Assurances to the Prince to no purpose. He asked him wherein the King of *Navar* and the Confederate Nobles had disobliged him, that he should make use of such absurd Shifts to break with them, in contradiction to the Oath which he had taken to join with them to  
destroy

destroy the Constable? The Prince answer'd,  
 " That that Oath had been observ'd by him  
 " better than it was by them, as appear'd by  
 " their not meeting him at *Arevela* in the  
 " prosecution of it; and tho' he was still for  
 " ridding *Castile* of the Constable, he could  
 " not go to *Olmeda* to be satisfied by them  
 " that they were as much for it as he was;  
 " since if he were there, he must go and wait  
 " upon the King, who was within five  
 " Leagues of it, which was no ways conve-  
 " nient for him to do at that time." The

Admiral being much offended with this shameful Shuffling and Dissimulation of the Prince, ask'd him what the Confederated Nobles had done to drive him to such Shifts? and offer'd to procure for him whatever he desir'd, if he would but let him know what it was? The Prince reply'd, *If you will go to the Bishop of Abula, he will tell you what is fit to be done.* The Admiral went to the Bishop, who, to gain Time, (knowing the Prince not to be in a Condition as yet to come to an open Rupture) enter'd into a Treaty with the Admiral, and after some time gave him a *Paper* which contain'd all that the Prince desir'd. One thing requir'd was, *That the King's Royal Pre-eminence should be secretly preserv'd*; which he reckon'd (tho' he did not say so much at present) cou'd not be, if he were not entirely at liberty to have the Constable about him. The Admiral was sensible that this was couch'd under the Ar-



ticle of the King's *Pre-eminence*, but took no notice of it. He carry'd the Bishop's *Paper* with him to the King of *Navar*, and it was agreed, That all the Prince had desir'd in it should be granted. *Garcia de Santa Maria* Brother to the Bishop of *Burgos*, and a Jew by Nation, was sent to *Arevela* to let the Prince know so much : But before that Messenger arrived there, the Bishop of *Abula* had gone secretly to *Alma de Tormes*, where he met the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, and brought both him and his Nephew the *Conde de Alva* into the Alliance which the Prince had enter'd into with the Constable. When *Garcia* waited on the Prince with the *Grant* of all that he had desir'd, the Prince knew not what to say to him, but bad him go and Dine with the Bishop of *Abula*. *Garcia* went, and after Dinner deliver'd the *Grant* which he had brought with him. The Bishop, reckoning that the Prince was now so strong that he might open his mind a little more fully than he had hitherto done, said, That the Confederated Nobles had done well in being so just to the Prince, that there wanted now only Three things to be executed which related to the Article about the King's *Pre-eminence* : 1<sup>st</sup>, That the King should be at liberty to go where he pleas'd. 2<sup>dly</sup>, That the King of *Navar* and his Friends should evacuate all the Royal Cities and Fortresses which they had garison'd. 3<sup>dly</sup>, That the King should be Master of the Crown-Revenues.



nues. *Garcia* said, These things might do well at another time; but if the Prince insisted on them at present, he had certainly chang'd his mind in relation to the Constable. From the Bishop he went to the Prince to hear what he wou'd say, and had the same Answer from him word for word. Upon which he return'd to the King of *Navar* and satisfy'd him, that the Prince was undoubtedly in a Confederacy with the Constable.

The Prince, or rather his Governor the Bishop of *Abula*, being certain that after this declaration of his Mind, the King of *Navar* would be upon him quickly, left *Arevela* and went to *Abula*, having before-hand summon'd all his Confederates to come to him there. The first that came to *Abula* with Troops was the Constable, who brought Five hundred Ginnets with him. The next was the *Conde Alva*, who brought Three hundred; and in a few days the Prince was Fifteen hundred strong in Horse: but that not being Force enough to go to *Tordesillas* where the King was, he march'd toward *Burgos*, and was by the way join'd by the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, and the *Condes* of *Haro*, *Placentia*, and *Castaneda* with a Strength in Horse equal to what he had before. The Constable being now with the Prince, it was to no purpose to wear a Mask any longer, and therefore the Prince threw it off, and set forth a publick *Declaration* of his Intention to rescue the King his Father out of the Hands

of the King of *Navar* and his Confederates, and to restore him to his Royal Pre-eminence.

The King of *Navar* and his Friends being strangely allarm'd at the Prince's getting such Numbers of Men about him in so short a time, remov'd the King from *Tordesillas* to *Portillo* a Castle belonging to the *Conde de Castro*, whom they charg'd to watch the King narrowly that he might not get to the Prince; and having got together a Body of Two thousand Horse, they march'd towards *Burgos* with an Intention to give the Prince Battle, which they would certainly have done, if they had not been hinder'd by the News of the King's slipping away from the *Conde de Castro*, and of his arrival at *Valedolid*, under pretence of going out to Hunt. Upon which Tydings they all dispersed immediately; the King of *Navar* fled into *Aragon*, and the Admiral and other Nobles to their own Castles, which they promised to hold out till the King return'd to them with an Army out of *Aragon*.

When the Prince heard of the King's being at *Valedolid*, he sent the Bishop of *Abula* to him to invite him to come to *Duennas*. The King went thither, and was met by the Prince, and by his Constable who was much welcomer to him: They conducted the King to the Army, and in a short time reduc'd *Medina Cueller*, *Pennafiel*, and most of the Towns which belong'd to the King of *Navar*. The Constable march'd into *Andalusia* with  
Twelve

Twelve hundred Horse, and drove the *Infante Don Henry* out of it, who retired into *Aragon* to join his Brother the King of *Navar* who was making great Levies in that Kingdom.

Whilst the King was at *Espinar* raising Forces to oppose the King of *Navar*'s entring into *Castile*, he receiv'd the News of his Queen's Death. She was said to have been Poison'd by the Constable's procurement; and and if she was, he did not escape being signally punish'd in this Life for so execrable a Murder; the Match which he made a few Months after for the King proving one of the chief Causes of his Tragical End.

The Arch-Bishoprick of *Compostella* falling void at this time, was offer'd by the King to the Bishop of *Abula* for his late great Services; but that Prelate desir'd to be excus'd, and said he was too old to go into cold *Galicia*, and at the same time accepted of the rich Bishoprick of *Cuença*, with which he could stay about the Court with a better grace than with the other.

The King of *Navar* and his Brother had not been many Weeks in *Aragon* before they return'd to *Castile* with a good Army: They went to *Olmeda*, and were met there by the Admiral and the other discontented *Grandeess*; but before they committed any Acts of Hostility they sent a Gentleman to the King, to ask leave to lay their Complaints before him. That false Man the Bishop of *Cuença* was appointed by the King to go and



hear what they had to say. They told him all that they desir'd was, to have their own Estates, and that they might be suffer'd to enjoy them quietly; and that if this was granted and secur'd to them, they would lay down their Arms, which they must otherwise make use of. This Proposition had been accepted of, when it was reported by that Bishop to the King and Council, if it had not been oppos'd by the Constable. He told the King, That if His Highness would but delay returning an Answer to it for seven Days, he might then return such a one as would be more for his Honour and Service than any Answer he could make at present. When it was objected, That the King of *Navar* was much stronger than the King, and would not wait so long for an Answer; the Bishop of *Cuença* undertook to hinder the Prince from committing any Acts of Hostility for Ten Days, if the King would grant him a Commission to treat with him all the while. That Prelate had such a Commission given him, and went six Days successively to confer with the King of *Navar* and the Admiral, and offer'd such Things in the King's Name, that at last they declar'd they were satisfy'd. After they had been amus'd for six Days together with vain Promises, the Treaty was broke off abruptly on the seventh, when the *Master* of *Calatrava* came to the King's Camp with Five hundred Ginnets; by which great Reinforcement the King was enabl'd to return  
that



that Answer to the King of *Navar* and the Confederated Lords which the Constable was for giving them. After they had been so long deluded by the Bishop of *Cuença*, they perceiv'd that the Constable was resolv'd to bring it to a Battle, and therefore dispatch'd two Lawyers and a Publick Notary to the King with the following *Remonstrance*, which they were order'd to execute in his presence with all the Formalities of Law.

“ We the King of *Navar*, the Infante Don  
“ *Henry*, the Admiral of *Castile*, &c. do  
“ Supplicate your Highness, Not to give  
“ way to the Destruction of your Kingdoms,  
“ but to do them Justice by Dismissing the  
“ Constable Don *Alvaro de Luna* your Capital  
“ Enemy, and the Destroyer of your King-  
“ doms; and that you will be pleas'd to go  
“ to any Place as a *Sovereign Prince*, and we  
“ will wait on you there only with ten  
“ Mules, in order to settle the Peace of  
“ your Kingdoms, which have so long groan'd  
“ under the Tyrannical Power of your Con-  
“ stable : This if you will do, it will be  
“ what becomes a *good King*, and the *natu-*  
“ *ral Lord* of these Kingdoms; and we shall  
“ esteem it a great Favour : But in case you  
“ deny to do it, we here *Protest*, That we  
“ will camplain of it to our most holy Father  
“ the *Pope*, and will defend ourselves with  
“ Arms with our utmost Force, preserving  
“ however all that Respect and Reverence  
“ which is due to your *Royal Person*. And  
“ if

“ if any Deaths, Plunders, Burnings and  
 “ Depopulations do ensue upon it, we do  
 “ hereby acquit ourselves of them all, and  
 “ lay the whole Guilt of them upon your  
 “ Conscience; *a just and necessary Defence*  
 “ *being a thing that all Laws Divine and*  
 “ *Human do allow.*

The Lawyers were brought into the King's  
 presence before he rose from Dinner, and first  
 read the *Protestation* to him, and put it after-  
 wards into his Hand, and then the Names of  
 all that were present were written down by  
 a Publick Notary as Witnesses to its execu-  
 tion. All that the King said to the Lawyers  
 was, He would consider of the *Protestation*,  
 and in a short time send an Answer to it.  
 Within two Days he return'd the Constable's  
 Answer to it, which was a pitch'd Battle,  
 in which the Victory fell at last to the King,  
 after it had been doubtful for some Hours,  
 and was so entire, that the Army of the Con-  
 federated Nobles was totally dispersed. The  
 King of *Navar* and the Infante his Brother  
 fled into *Aragon*, where the *Infante* died of  
 the Wounds he had receiv'd in the Fight,  
 leaving his young Princess in *Castile* big with  
 Child.

The Constable was zealous to have the  
 King make use of this Victory to ruin the  
 Power of the *Grandeess*, which at present was  
 too great to suffer a *Favourite* to be long  
 easie; and to that end he push'd him on to  
 seize forthwith on all the Castles and Estates  
 which

which belong'd to the King of *Navar*, the Infante Don *Henry*, the *Admiral*, the *Conde de Benevente*, and the rest of the Nobles who had been in Arms against him, and either to annex them to the Crown, or to distribute them among their Enemies, of which he himself was the Chief. This the Constable said might be done with ease, if it were done presently; and it would have been done, if the Prince had not broke all the Constable's Measures in a few Days after the Victory, by stealing away from Court by Night, attended only by *Pacheico* his Favourite and two Pages, and going to *Segovia* a City that was entirely at his devotion. The Prince was no sooner miss'd, than the *Master of Calatrava* was sent after him to fetch him back; but the Prince rode so hard that the Master could not overtake him. Afterwards a Gentleman was sent to *Segovia* by the King, to know of the Prince what it was that made him leave him so? The Prince answer'd, It was only to refresh himself a little after so long a Fatigue, and that he did it without Leave, for no other reason but because he fear'd it wou'd have been deny'd him if he had ask'd it. He desir'd the Gentleman to assure the King, That he would return to Court after he had diverted himself for a few Days at *Segovia*. But this being look'd upon as a Flam, the Bishop of *Cuença* (who, when he was Bishop of *Abula*, had taught both the Prince and his Favourite *Pacheico* the Art

of



of Diffimulation) was sent to *Segovia* to see if he could pump the Secret out of them. He began with *Pacheico*, who like a towardly Scholar protested to his Tutor, by all that was sacred, that he knew nothing of the Prince's Intention to leave the Court, before he commanded him to make himself ready to go with him to *Segovia*. The Bishop said, That might be true, but that the Prince must have since acquainted him with the Cause of that strange and sudden Motion. After some fencing, the Tutor pumped out of his Scholar, that the reason of that Motion was, because the Towns of *Villaneua*, *Salvateira*, and *Salvaleon* were not given him, which had been all promis'd to him, for persuading the Prince to join with the Constable to set the King at Liberty. He further represented, That the Cities of *Jaen* *Logrono* and *Civid Rodrigo*, and the Town of *Casseres*, were not given to the Prince, as was promised, and that the King and Constable were about to seize on all the Castles and Lands which belong'd to the Admiral, altho' the Prince had promis'd that Lord to take them all into his own hands.

These Demands of the Prince, tho' they were hard, were all granted; and to satisfy the rising young *Favourite*, not only the fore-mention'd Towns were bestow'd on him, but likewise the Title and all the Estates belonging to the great *Marquisate of Villena*, and all the Castles and Lands which belong'd to the Admiral  
were



were deliver'd up to the Prince, and all that belong'd to the *Conde* of *Benevente* were deliver'd to the Constable. In one of those Towns call'd *Mayorga* the Constable of *Portugal* was splendidly entertain'd by the King : This Constable was Son to the Regent of *Portugal*, and had been sent into *Castile* by his Father with a Body of Twelve hundred Horse, Four hundred Ginnets, and Two hundred Foot, to the Assistance of the Constable against the King of *Navar* and his Friends : And tho' these *Portugueses* came too late to have any share in the Honour of the late Victory, yet they were loaded with Presents both by the King and the Constable before they return'd Home.

When the calling in of these foreign Troops was first mov'd by the Constable, it was violently oppos'd in Council by the *Conde de Haro* and most of the other Nobles that were present, as a great Dishonour to the King and Kingdom ; but that did not hinder him from bringing them in ; and tho' he was sensible that it created him a great deal of Ill-will, yet he valu'd it not, so long as the King was pleas'd with it, as he was with every thing that the Constable said or did. And to let the Kingdom farther see that his Constable's Absence had not at all lessen'd his Affection for him, he no sooner heard of the Infante Don *Henry's* Death, than he commanded all the *Priors* and *Commendadors* of the Order of St. *James* to chuse the Constable  
for

for their *Master* ; which great Office he held with that of *Constable*, and was the first and the last that ever had them both together.

The *Constable's* old Enemies being now all either either dead or banish'd, new ones sprung up in their room ; which always was and ever will be the lot of *Court-Favourites*. Of all his new Enemies the most formidable was *Pacheico*, who govern'd the Prince as much as the *Constable* did the King. *Pacheico* apprehended that the King and the *Constable* would eclipse him and his Master by Ruling as uncontrollably as ever, if the Admiral and other banish'd *Grandeess* were ruin'd ; and therefore advis'd the Prince to oblige the *Grandeess*, by making their Peace with the King. After this was effected, *Pacheico*, according to the common Gratitude in Courts, began to treat with them about entring into an Alliance to destroy the *Constable*. The *Constable* saw plainly what *Pacheico* was driving at, yet durst not attack him violently according to his wonted custom, but on the contrary sought to gain him by doing him good Offices with the King : And being well assur'd that nothing would please him so much as to have his Brother Don *Peter Giron* made *Master* of *Calatrava*, he gave the present Master a great Sum of Money to resign it in *Giron's* favour. This was taken so well of the *Constable* both by the Prince and *Pacheico*, that they went to *Palayas* on purpose to thank him for it. The King came thither to his

Constable

Constable before they parted, and all the Lands and Castles that belong'd to the Infante Don Henry were divided between the two *Favourites*, notwithstanding his Widow was with Child, and that they had all been settled in Marriage upon his Children: *Alburquerque* and *Azagala* were given to the Constable, and *Medellin* to *Pacheico*.

But tho' *Pacheico* was deny'd nothing that he desir'd, yet finding that the whole Power of the Government was still in the Constable, his Ambition made him so uneasie, that he resolv'd, if it was possible, to pull him down; and to that end, he told the Prince that He made no *Figure* in the Court; and tho' he could not deny that he was under great Obligations to the Constable, by whom he was first plac'd about his Highness, yet the Constable's *Tyranny* was grown so insupportable, that he could no longer sacrifice the *publick Good* of the Kingdom to his own *private Gratitude*, or to any thing else. He soon after began a Treaty between the Prince, the Admiral and the Conde de Benevente, in order to lessen the exorbitant Power of the Constable: Which Treaty was not carry'd on so secretly, but that the Constable, who had his *Spyes* in every Corner, had timely notice of it, and saw plainly by it that nothing but his Ruin would satisfy the Ambition of the young *Favourite*; instead therefore of endeavouring to gain him by procuring him new Favours, he set himself to countermine him in all his  
Plots;

Plots; and being sensible that the Prince would never be able to do him much hurt, without the Assistance of the *Admiral* and the *Conde de Benevente* who were inseparable Friends, he perswaded the King to take both those Nobles out of the hands of the Prince, by bestowing on the Admiral the Town of *Tariffa* and a Yearly Pension of an Hundred thousand *Maravedeis*.

This was a Master-stroke of the Constable's; but his next Device is said to have prov'd fatal to him, tho' at some Years distance. It seems he carry'd on a Treaty of Marriage so far between his Master the King and an *Infanta* of *Portugal*, without making him privy to it, that the King was bound in Honour to Marry that *Infanta*, tho' he was much more inclin'd to Marry the Princess of *Rogunda* a Daughter of the *French* King. The King is said to have been so angry with the Constable upon this account, that he never forgave him. If this be true, the King must have been a great Master of that Lesson which a *French* King said was alone Learning enough for any Sovereign. This Marriage was celebrated in the Year 1447, and the Constable did not fall visibly under the King's Displeasure till the Year 1453. However that was, *It is certainly a dangerous thing for Favourites to impose upon their Masters either in their Marriages or Amours, tho' they may govern 'em in all things else.*



*Pacheico* was so enrag'd against the *Admiral* and the *Conde de Benevente*, for thus deserting the Prince who had been so great a Friend to them both, that he was ready to enter into any Measures whereby he thought he might be reveng'd on them. This was observ'd by the Bishop of *Abula*, who earnestly apply'd himself to unite the two *Favourites*, and convinc'd them both that they had no other way whereby they could secure themselves in their high Posts, but by joining to break the great Power of the *Grandeess*. At his Perswasion they enter'd into a strict Alliance to do this, and did vow a perpetual Friendship to one another. To compass their Design, it was agreed, that the *Admiral*, the *Condes de Benevente*, *Alva*, and *Castro*, and the *Admiral's Brother* Don *Peter*, and Don *Suero Quinnones*, should be all made Prisoners, upon the pretence of keeping a Correspondence with the King of *Navar*. In order to Apprehend them all at once, it was agreed, that the King and the Prince should have an Interview in the midway betwixt *Tordesillas* and *Villaverde*; to which Interview all those Nobles were to be invited. The Bishop of *Abula* went to invite them all to it. The *Admiral* and the *Conde de Castro*, who knew the Court was not to be trusted with so many Nobles together, desir'd to be excus'd; but the rest did all promise the Bishop to be present at it, and did accordingly go to *Tordesillas* to wait upon the King at the time appointed. After

they were on Horse-back to go to the King, they were told by the Bishop of *Abula*, That it had been agreed between the King and the Prince, that none should be present at this Interview but upon Mules. The Nobles submitted to this, tho' they did not like it very well, and having mounted their Mules they went after the King and the Constable, who met the Prince and *Pacheico* at the Place appointed for the Interview. After the usual Civilities had pass'd, those four went aside from the Company ; and returning again after a short Conference, the *Conde de Benevente*, the *Admiral's Brother*, and *Don Suero de Quinnones*, were all Arrested at the King's Command, and sent Prisoners to the Castle of *Portillo*. The *Conde de Alva* and *Don Peter Quinnones* were Arrested at the Prince's Command, and sent to the Castle of *Rua* ; and at the same time a Guard was sent by the King to Arrest the *Admiral*, and another by the Prince to Arrest the *Conde de Castro* : But the News of what had been done having march'd faster than the Officers sent by the King and Prince, those two Lords left their Houses before the Officers came to them, and fled into *Aragon*, where they complain'd aloud of the *Injustice* and *Treachery* of that Interview ; which made the whole Kingdom of *Castile* exclaim more than it had ever done before against any of the Constable's Actions ; for it was in every Body's mouth, that after such *illegal* and *treacherous* Actions as these, no

Man

Man was any longer safe as to his *Life, Liberty, or Estate*. And so great and universal was this *Discontent*, that when any Misfortune befel the Government, few were sorry for it, no, not for the good Successes of the *Moors*, to whom these intestine Divisions gave great Advantage. *The truth is, where those fore-mention'd Blessings are not secur'd to People by the Government, they have no great reason to be much concern'd for its Prosperity or Preservation, provided the Profession of the True Religion would not suffer by its Fall, nor a more lasting Slavery spring out of its Ruins.*

The two *Favourites* uniting in an Act which had render'd them so universally Odious, must, if any thing could do it, have link'd them inseparably to each other; but they were both too Ambitious to be held long together by that or any other Bond of *Iniquity*. As the Constable could not afford *Pacheico* any great share in the Power of the Government, so nothing less than the Whole could satisfy *Pacheico*.

In a few Weeks after they had given that treacherous Blow, *Pacheico* carry'd his Master the Prince (whom he made a perfect Weather-cock) much discontented from the Court, complaining that all Authority was so ingross'd by the Constable, that He was a Cypher, tho' Heir of the Crown. To be reveng'd on the Constable, and to throw upon him the whole Odium of the late treacherous



Interview, the Prince gave the *Conde de Alva* and Don *Peter Quinones* his two Prisoners their Liberty, and kept them about him to protect them (as he pretended) against the Violence of the Constable.

The Prince seeing that there was no Power now left in *Castile* that could shake the Constable, supplicated the King to call a *Free Cortes*, which he thought would undoubtedly tear him to pieces, and offer'd to refer all his own *private* as well as the *Publick Grievances* to the Determinations of that Assembly. The King hoping that in the absence of the greatest *Grandees* a *Cortes* might be pack'd that would comply with all the Constable's Desires, gratify'd the Prince, and call'd a *Cortes* to meet at *Valedolid*, which the King open'd with the following *Speech*:

“ *Procurators*, I have call'd you together  
 “ to acquaint you with what I intend to do  
 “ at *Tordesillas*. I do first intend to come  
 “ to an Agreement with the Prince my dear  
 “ and most beloved Son: In the second  
 “ place, I design to reward those that  
 “ have served me faithfully; and to punish  
 “ those which have not, by making a Par-  
 “ tition of the Estates of the Nobles which  
 “ are fled, and of those that are in Prison:  
 “ And upon this last Point I desire to have  
 “ your Judgments.

From the short Account we have of this *Cortes* I observe three things: 1<sup>st</sup>, That the Three Estates did sit together: 2<sup>dly</sup>, That  
 the



the King us'd to be present at their Debates : *Lastly*, That the *Procurators* of the *Commons* did Sit, Speak, and Vote in Order, according to the Dignity of the Cities and Towns they were sent by. This Order was so settl'd either by a *Law* or *Custom*, that I no where read of any Dispute about Priority between any two Cities or Towns besides *Burgos* and *Toledo*, which have long contended about Precedency.

The *Procurators* of *Burgos*, and of all the other Cities preceding *Cuença*, approv'd of what had been propos'd by the King : But when it came to the turn of the *Procurators* of the City of *Cuença* to speak, the Tide was turn'd by *Mosen Diego de Valera* one of its *Procurators*, who address'd himself to the King in the following manner :

“ S I R, I humbly Supplicate your High-  
 “ nefs not to be offended with me for differ-  
 “ ing from those who have spoke before me.  
 “ For with Reverence to your Highness's  
 “ vertuous and holy Intentions be it spoke,  
 “ I am of Opinion, that the *Absent* as well  
 “ the *Imprison'd* Nobles ought to be first cited  
 “ to appear in this your high Council, either  
 “ in *Person* or by their *Proctors*, in order to  
 “ have Causes Examin'd and Determin'd in  
 “ it : And if upon Tryal they shall be  
 “ found Guilty of Crimes for which the Law  
 “ Condemns them to lose their Estates, your  
 “ Highness may afterwards use either *Rigour*  
 “ or *Clemency*, as shall be judg'd most con-

“ venient. The taking of this Course will  
 “ have two great Advantages attending it ;  
 “ one is, that the *Laws* of the *Land* will  
 “ be observ’d, which don’t allow any Person  
 “ whatsoever to be Punish’d before he has  
 “ been first Heard and Convicted ; the  
 “ other is, that what *Seneca* saith, *That it is*  
 “ *possible for a Judge to be unjust in passing a*  
 “ *just Sentence*, cannot after that be apply’d  
 “ to your Highness, as it may be other-  
 “ wise.

To prevent the ill Effects which this bold *Speech* might have on the *Cortes*, one *Rabadaneira* a *Procurator* and a Creature of the Constable’s, swore by all that was sacred, That it should not be long before he would make *Valera* repent of what he had said : But such a *Spirit* was nevertheless rais’d by it in that Assembly which before appear’d to have no *Spirit*, that the King, despairing of a Majority, withdrew, and dissolv’d it soon after, and then went to *Tordesillas* and patch’d up a new Peace with the Prince, which, like all the former, lasted but a short time. And so far was *Valera* from repenting of what he had said in the *Cortes*, that he said a great deal more in the same strain in a long *Letter* which he sent to the King at *Tordesillas*. He supplicated the King to consider the *Obligations* of his *Royal Office*, and to reflect whether He Himself had not been some ways *Accessory* to the present great *Miseries* and *Distractions* of his Kingdoms :  
 He

He exhorted him, after having try'd *Rigors* so long with so bad success, once to try what *Clemency* would do : He told him, That according to his weak Judgment, four things would restore Peace to his unhappy Kingdoms, and that without them no such thing could be expected.

1st, *A firm Concord between his Highness and the Prince his Son.*

2dly, *The Calling Home all the Absent Grandees, and Restoring all their Estates to them.*

3dly, *The setting the Grandees that were in Prison at Liberty, and giving them all their Estates.*

And lastly, *A General Indemnity.*

He concluded his *Letter* with a passionate Exhortation to the King to have Pity upon *Himself* and his *Kingdoms*, and having compar'd their *present sad Estate* with the *flourishing Condition* they were in when He came to the Crown, he beseeched him to dread the thoughts of entailing an *Eternal Infamy* on his Memory, which, he said, was the most cruel thing a Prince could do to Himself.

When the King had read this *Letter*, he gave it to *Rabadaneira* who was made a Marshal, for his *Hectoring Valera* in the *Cortes*. *Rabadaneira* carry'd it to the Constable, and read it to him. The Constable was so enrag'd at it, that he swore no Death was



bad enough for *Velera*. It is probable *Valera* would not have escap'd a barbarous Death, if the *Conde de Placentia* had not secur'd him by taking him into his Family, in which, as we shall see hereafter, he came to be one of the chief Instruments in pulling down the Constable. In the mean time the Constable turn'd him out of all his Offices, and would not suffer the Salary to be paid that was due to him as a *Procurator*; by which we may learn what the Constable's Design was in charging the Crown with those Salaries.

Several Incurfions were made into *Castile* at this time both by the *Moors* and the *Aragoneses*. The Constable went with a good Body of Horse to *Occuna* to put a stop to them. He took *Toledo* in his Way, and requir'd the Council of that City to Lend the King a Million of *Maravedeis* to help to defray the Charges of this Expedition. The Council, who hated the Constable mortally for destroying their Ancient Form of Government, said, The City was poor, and not able to raise so great a Sum of Money. The Constable told them, The King must have it, and bid them send it after him to *Cuenca*. But instead of sending the Money thither, the Council sent Deputies to let the Constable know, that tho' they were able to raise the Money which he requir'd, yet they hop'd he would not insist upon it, since they could not let him have it, without betraying their own Birthrights, and the Birthrights of all the



the Cities and Towns of *Castile*. The Constable ask'd them what the Birthright was? The Deputies answer'd, That *Great One* of not being oblig'd to raise Money that was not laid on them by a *Cortes*. The Constable bid them go Home and send the Money to him, otherwise it should be worse for them.

The Council, when those Threatnings of the Constable's were reported to them by their Deputies, came to a Resolution, not to advance the Money; and that they might not be forc'd to it, unanimously agreed to put the City in a posture of Defence. The whole City was rais'd by ringing out of the *Alarm-Bell*, and a stout substantial *Leather-Bottle-Maker* took upon him the Command of the *Populace*. He led his Company first to the House of *Alonso de Cotto* a rich Banker and a great Creature of the Constable's, and plunder'd that, and burnt it down to the Ground. He forc'd his way into the Castle, and set Guards at all the Gates of the City; and after all, contrary to the Custom of most *Tumultuary* Captains, gave way to the Council's inviting one of a higher Quality and of more Experience in War to be their Governor. The Person invited by the Council was *Don Pero Sarmiento*, who had been formerly General of the King's Forces, but had been Cashier'd upon some Disputes that had arisen between him and the Constable, for which reason he was a most implacable Enemy to the Constable. He accepted that Command, in hopes  
of

of being able so to manage this Combustion which the Constable had rais'd, as to ruin him by it. The Constable himself having the same Apprehensions, dispatch'd a Courier to the King, and intreated him to come to *Toledo* with all possible expedition to chastise the Insolence of that seditious City. The King, who was the most obedient Creature in the world to all his Favourite's Orders, made all the haste he could to come thither; but being told, when he arriv'd at *Fuensalida*, that if he went to *Toledo* he would find the Gates shut, he halted there, and call'd a Council to consider whether he should go in Person before *Toledo* or not. Whilst this was under Debate, a Messenger came to the King with the following Propositions from *Sarmiento* :  
 “ 1<sup>st</sup>, That his Highness might come to  
 “ *Toledo* when he pleas'd, but with a *limited*  
 “ Number of Men, and without the Con-  
 “ stable. 2<sup>dly</sup>, That an *Indemnity* for all  
 “ that was past should be granted. And  
 “ lastly, That *Sarmiento* should be made Go-  
 “ vernor of *Toledo*.

These Propositions were rejected by the King, who march'd forthwith towards *Toledo*, expecting that the Hearts of the People would have fail'd when he came before it : But he found it otherwise; for the Gates were not only shut against him, but the *Summons* to open them was answer'd with a *Canon-Bullet*, because the Constable was with him.

him. As the Bullet flew towards the King, the People on the Wall cry'd out aloud, *There's an Orange for you from the Grange.*

Upon this Insolence, the King in Form of Law pronounc'd *Sarmiento* and all that were in Arms with him in *Toledo* Traitors; and having left the City invested, went to *Torijos*, where the following *Declaration*, in the Name of the whole City of *Toledo*, and of all the other Cities and Towns in *Castile*, was put into his Hand.

“ S I R, Your Highness cannot but know,  
 “ that for Thirty Years and more your Con-  
 “ stable *Don Alvaro de Luna* has usurp'd  
 “ and does still hold the whole *Sovereignty*  
 “ and *Administration* of all your Kingdoms,  
 “ and that he has Robb'd, Destroy'd, and Us'd  
 “ them *Tyrannically* at his Pleasure, having  
 “ either Murder'd, Imprison'd, or Banish'd  
 “ the *Grandeess*, and sown Divisions and Dis-  
 “ sentions among them in all Cities and  
 “ Towns, on purpose to bring them under  
 “ his *Subjection*; and that he has also  
 “ sold all Offices for Money, by which means  
 “ they are fill'd with *Unbelievers* and *profligate*  
 “ *Persons* who have robb'd and do still  
 “ rob your good Subjects: In all which *pub-*  
 “ *lick Robberies* the said Constable had a great  
 “ share, and has thereby amass'd a most  
 “ *prodigious Treasure*. He has likewise al-  
 “ ways been and is still continually requiring  
 “ *publick Taxes* and *Loans* of Money, contrary  
 “ to

“ to what has been practis’d in the Reigns of  
“ any of our former Kings, except in Cases of  
“ extreme Necessity, namely, to defend the  
“ Kingdom against the *Moors*. He has likewise  
“ destroy’d the *Privileges*, *Immunities*, and  
“ *Franchises* of many Cities, to the great  
“ Diminution and Dishonour of your Royal  
“ Crown, and to the universal Detriment  
“ of the Subject. And notwithstanding your  
“ Highness has been required by the Prelates  
“ and Nobles, and by the Procurators of  
“ Cities and Towns, to rule and govern your  
“ Kingdoms your Self, as you are in Duty  
“ bound, you have always and do still deny  
“ to do it, submitting your self entirely to  
“ the Will of the said Constable your Enemy  
“ and the Enemy of the Publick Welfare of  
“ your Kingdoms. We do therefore once  
“ more, in our own Name and in the Name  
“ of all the Cities and Towns in *Castile*,  
“ Supplicate, Require and Admonish your  
“ Highness to Dismiss the said Constable, and  
“ to govern your Kingdoms and administer  
“ Justice to them your Self; to raise the  
“ Siege which you have laid to this City,  
“ and withdraw the Troops that are about  
“ it at present; to call the Prince your Son,  
“ and all the Prelates, Nobles, and Procura-  
“ tors of all Cities and Towns, to some safe  
“ Place, to hold a *Cortes*, in order to settle  
“ all Publick Affairs as shall be most for God’s  
“ Service, your Own and the Publick Good  
“ of your Kingdoms. If your Highness do  
“ this,



“ this, you will do what you are oblig’d to  
 “ as our Natural Lord and King; but if you  
 “ will not, we will withdraw that *Obedience*  
 “ and *Subjection* from you which is due to  
 “ you as our King and Natural Lord, and  
 “ and will *transfer* and *grant* it and the  
 “ *Royal Justice* and *Jurisdiction* to the Illu-  
 “ strious Prince *Don Henry* your Son and  
 “ Heir, to whom they ought to descend,  
 “ after you have deny’d to administer Justice  
 “ to your People, and have done them many  
 “ *Wrongs* and *Injuries*, and consented to the  
 “ doing many more. And we holding our  
 “ King suspected on account of the Grie-  
 “ vances he has loaded us withal, we will  
 “ *Appeal* from Him, and from his Commands,  
 “ to those to whom of Right in such Cases we  
 “ ought to *Appeal*, and will put our selves  
 “ under the *Maintenance*, *Protection* and *De-*  
 “ *fence* of our Lord *Christ Jesus*, and his Chief  
 “ *Vicar*, and of the *Justice* of our Lord the  
 “ Prince *Don Henry*, to whom, upon your  
 “ *Default*, the Administration of the Govern-  
 “ ment does belong.

The King, who had never been spoken to  
 so plainly before, having return’d no Answer  
 to this bold *Declaration*, the City of *Toledo*  
 dispatch’d Deputies immediately to the Prince,  
 to desire him to come to them and take upon  
 him the *Administration* of the Government.  
 The Prince, who was at variance with the  
 King again, and was at *Segovia*, promis’d the  
 Deputies

Deputies to make all the haste he could to *Toledo*; and having drawn together a good Body of Horſe, went to *Caffaruvias*, where he was met by ſeveral Prelates and Nobles that were Enemies to the Conſtable. By their Advice he ſent to the King to aſk Leave to go to *Toledo*, where, he ſaid, he had no other buſineſs but to ſerve him. Tho' the King knew that the Prince would go thither whether he had his Leave or not, yet he would not grant it him, but withdrew his Troops from before *Toledo*, and retreated to *Eſcalona* a Town belonging to the Conſtable, which he had made impregnable, becauſe the main of his Treafure was lodg'd there.

The Prince's Way to *Toledo* being now open, he enter'd into it in great Triumph, and was receiv'd by *Sarmiento* and that whole City with all the Expreſſions of an extraordinary Joy; but that Joy laſted not long, having been on a ſudden turn'd into Lamentation by a ſtrange Fickleneſs in the Prince's Temper. The Prince had not been many Days in *Toledo* before he had chas'd *Sarmiento* out of it, on pretence that he had enter'd into a Correſpondence with the King, and into a Conſpiracy to take away his Life. On the ſame pretence he Imprison'd two of the *Canons* of the Church, and put two of *Sarmiento's* Friends to Death. Having by theſe Severities incens'd the whole City extremely againſt him, he ſent to the King  
of

of *Navar* and to the banish'd *Grandeess* who were on the Frontiers of *Aragon*, to invite them to come and join with him to destroy the Constable : But the King having at the same time offer'd to restore to them and the Imprison'd Nobles their *Liberty* and all their *Estates* if they would join with him against the Prince ; the City of *Toledo* accepted of the King's Proposition, knowing the Prince to be one that could not be depended on. The Prince finding himself left alone in *Toledo*, and much hated there, made his Peace with the King, by delivering it up to him. To mortifie that City the more, the King made the Constable *Governor* of it, which was the last Favour that he receiv'd from the King's Hands.

The *Grandeess*, who had been banish'd and imprison'd, having now regain'd all their *Estates*, appear'd to be well dispos'd to live quietly with the Constable, with whom they had wrestled so many Years to little purpose, at the expence of their *Liberty* and *Estates* : But the great Troubles which the Constable had given them and their Families, together with his Publick *Male-administrations*, did stick so much in their stomachs that they could not digest them ; and therefore to give themselves some ease, they secretly set their Sons upon the Constable, who being young and brisk, would be better able, they thought, to deal with him than they were. The *Admiral's* Eldest Son broke the  
Ice :



Ice : He fortify'd himself in *Placencula*, and began to commit Hostilities. The King and his Constable went to reduce that Place. The Constable very narrowly escap'd being either kill'd or taken Prisoner by a Servant of the Admiral's, who seeing the King and the Constable viewing the Town with a small Guard, sally'd out upon them with thirty resolute Men : But the Constable, whose Courage nothing could daunt, drew his Sword, and with a lesser number drove all that were alive back into the Town, which was surrender'd to him in a few Days after. This was the Constable's last Action ; and to me it seems probable, that the Fright the King was put into by that desperate Sally, was the first thing that wean'd him from the Fondness of having the Constable near his Person.

The Constable had for some Years look'd on the *Conde de Placentia* as the most implacable and most dangerous of all his Enemies. This *Conde* was a Man of a great Estate and Haughtiness, and had not for many Years gone near the Court, nor had ever at any time made any *Submission* or *Application* to the Constable : And as his House in *Bejar* had been long the Rendezvouze of all the Constable's Enemies, so he had lately taken *Valera* into it at a time when the Constable thought no Death was bad enough for him. The Constable, being very solicitous to have this stiff *Conde* broke, perswaded the King that he was more his Majesty's Enemy than he  
was



was his; and that it was upon that account necessary to remove him from *Bejar* to some other part of the Kingdom where he would not be so strong and popular, especially since his Eldest Son was fortifying himself in *Piedrahitto*. The King having agreed to this Proposition, the Constable gave a secret Order to the chief Commander of the Troops which were to be sent to *Piedrahitto* to fall upon *Bejar*, and to seize the *Conde de Placentia*. But this Plot did not succeed, tho' it seem'd to be well enough laid: For when the *Conde* heard that a great Body of Troops were order'd to march into his Neighbourhood, he immediately took the Alarm, and set all Hands to work to fortifie *Bejar*: He furnish'd it with a strong Garison, and resolv'd to hold it out to the last against the Constable. But that was not try'd; for as soon as the Constable had notice of the *Conde's* taking the Alarm, he order'd the Troops another way, where he pretended they were more wanted.

After the Constable had rouz'd this sleeping Lyon without catching him, he would gladly have let him alone, if he would but have return'd to his former *Quiet*: But the *Conde* would not do that, but declar'd to all the World, that he would never rest till he had either *Ruin'd* the Constable, or the Constable had *Ruin'd* Him. Being thus at open War with the Constable, he sent *Valera* to the Prince, to the *Condees* of *Haro* and *Benevente*,

and to the Marquis of *Santillano*, to desire them as they *Lov'd* their *Country*, *Families*, and *Persons*, to join with him to pull down the Constable, who, if let alone, would ruin them all. They all promis'd to assist him, and a Plot was laid to take the Constable either *Dead* or *Alive* at *Valedolid* where he was with the King. It was agreed that *Don Alvaro D'Estuniga* Eldest Son to the *Conde de Placentia* should march with Three hundred Lances towards that City, under pretence of going that Way to assist the *Conde de Trastamara* against the *Conde de Benevente*, who were making Military Incurfions into one another's Lands; and that before he came near to that City, the Marquis of *Santillano's* Eldest Son should meet him with Two hundred Lances, and being join'd, they should go with all possible Secrecy and Expedition to *Valedolid*, where they would find a Gate open'd to them in the Night, and a Thousand Men ready to join them. And to prevent the City from being terrify'd by their coming in that manner, they were to have a Cryer go before them in the Streets, making Proclamation, *That they had nothing to say to any Body but only to One Man, on whom they came to execute Justice, at the Prince's Command.* But this Contrivance came to nothing; for when the Constable heard that *Don Alvaro D'Estuniga* was moving that Way with so many Lances, he presently suspected that he was sent by his

his Father upon some such Design, and therefore spoke to the King to go to *Burgos* and leave *Valedolid*, where, he said, his Royal Person was in great danger. The King promis'd to do so ; but before he left *Valedolid* he held a Consultation with the Queen and some others about removing the Constable from Court. This great Change in the King's Mind is by some attributed to a Grudge the King had conceiv'd against the Constable five Years before, for obliging him to Marry his present Queen, contrary to his Inclinations : By others it is attributed to the King's having Jealousies infus'd into him, that the Constable had an Intention to Defile his Royal Bed. But by what I can observe by the course of the Story, it was owing chiefly to the King's being afraid that keeping Constable about him might expose his own Person to some Danger ; it being plain that the young Lords, who had now undertaken to hunt down the Constable, were resolv'd to pursue his Person with Fire and Sword where-ever he was. For at this time I don't find that the King was for destroying the Constable, but only for removing him from about his Person ; and the Constable's backwardness to leave the King, seems to argue that he had mov'd the King to go farther with him. But however this was, the King, before he left *Valedolid*, sent a Letter by the *Condeffa de Rabadea* to the *Conde de Placentia* her Uncle, concerning the removing



the Constable from Court. The Conde, that he might lose no Time, immediately upon the receipt of the King's Letter, call'd his Eldest Son *Don Alvaro D'Eftuniga* and communicated the whole Secret to him. At parting he gave him the following brisk Charge :

“ *Alvaro !* If I had the Use of my Limbs,  
 “ neither you nor any other should have the  
 “ Glory of this dangerous Enterprize from  
 “ me : But since it has pleas'd God to de-  
 “ prive me of my Bodily Strength, I have no  
 “ better way to shew my Zeal to serve the  
 “ King, than to oblige you my Eldest Son,  
 “ *by the Cross*, to obey his Commands. I  
 “ enjoin you therefore to ride presently to  
 “ *Curiel*, and to take with you only *Diego*  
 “ *de Valera* my Secretary, and one Page.  
 “ When you are there, you must Arm pre-  
 “ sently as many Men as you think you may  
 “ have occasion for, leaving an Order for  
 “ your Servants, Horses and Arms that are  
 “ here, to follow you as soon as it is Light.  
 “ May that Star which guided the Wise Kings  
 “ of the East be your Guide. Be sure you  
 “ do not see my Face any more, if you do  
 “ not acquit your self like a Gentleman in  
 “ this Enterprize.

*Don Alvaro*, who hated the Constable as much as his Father hated him, took Horse at Three a Clock in the Morning, and by Twelve he got to *Curiel*, which is Thirty Leagues from *Bejar*; and judging that it would be  
 necessary



necessary for him to have Two hundred Lances, he order'd so many to be brought together. Next Morning, when but Seventy Lances were come in, *Don Alvaro* receiv'd a *Letter* from the King written with his own Hand, commanding him to come to *Burgos* without any Company, and to steal privately into the Castle of that City. The King intimated to him, that when he was there he should receive farther Orders from him. *Don Alvaro* was perfectly confounded at those Orders, suspecting that the King had chang'd his Mind: However, he resolv'd to follow them, and commanded the few Lances he had got together to attend him. He went towards *Burgos* by By-ways, and when he was within six Leagues of that City, he left his Lances and Servants there, under the Command of *Valera*, whom he order'd to remain there till he heard from him. He dress'd himself in the Habit of a Countryman, and in that Disguise he rode alone to *Burgos* upon a Mule: He then stole into the Castle; but understanding that the Bishop of *Abula* was there, and believing him to be a great Creature of the Constable's, he hid himself for above two Hours in an old Tower; which he needed not to have done, because that Bishop was deeper in the Plot against the Constable than *Don Alvaro* himself. After the Bishop was gone, *Don Alvaro* came out of his lurking Hole and made himself known to the *Alcalde*, and then immediately

diately dispatch'd a Courier to *Valera* to make all the haste he could to him. He order'd him to tell People who enquir'd who they were, That they belong'd to the Constable, and were call'd by him to *Burgos*. The Constable had Intelligence that a Body of Lances were got into the Castle, and sent the Bishop of *Abula* to the *Alcalde's* Wife, his Sister, to learn from her who they were, and what their Business was. The Bishop brought him word, That they were Sixty or Seventy Lances sent by *Don Alvaro D'Eftuniga* to reinforce the Garison, upon an Information that he was about to take the Government of that Castle from him, and that *Don Alvaro* himself was at *Curriel*. This Answer quieted the *Master* much, who was before suspicious that those Lances came upon some worse Design; for after their coming to *Burgos*, the King had spoke to the Constable to retire to one of his Country-houses for some time, and to remain quiet there till he heard from him. The Constable being much surpriz'd at this, desir'd the King to let him know the reason of it. The King said, It was to secure him, which might not be in his Power to do if he continu'd at *Burgos* till the *Cortes* met, which the Necessity of his Affairs wou'd oblige him to call speedily. The Constable reply'd, That if it was his Highness's Pleasure that he should retire, he wou'd do it, but withal desir'd him to call the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo* and some other of his Friends about him,

left

left he should be left alone during during his absence. This had formerly been the Constable's custom when the King was forc'd to part with him, but it would not do now ; for the King told him, That there was no need of calling the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, nor any of the rest that he had nam'd, since he should have them all about him when the *Cortes* met. By this the Constable perceiv'd plainly that the King was alienated from him, and therefore, without saying a word more to the King, return'd much discontented to his Lodgings. He had a strong suspicion in his Head that this ill Office had been done him by *Alonzo Perez* ; upon which that Councillor had his Brains beat out the next Night by *Don John de Luna* who had marry'd a Natural Daughter of the Constable's.

The Night after *Valera* arriv'd, *Don Alvaro* sent to severall of his Friends in the City to come to him, and before it was Day he had in the Castle Two hundred stout Men, besides his own Company, who had stole in one by one without being observ'd. The next Morning the King writ to *Don Alvaro*, That there was no Business for him at *Burgos*, and that he must go back to *Curiel* ; which was owing either to the King's Mutability of Temper, or to an Apprehension that *Don Alvaro* had not Strength enough to Arrest the Constable. This Command threw *Don Alvaro* into a very great Rage, and mov'd him to write the King word, That if



he would but sit quiet in his Palace and let him alone, he doubted not, with God's Assistance, to do the Work effectually ; and added, That since he was come, he was resolv'd to do it if it cost him his Life. Upon this resolute Answer of *Don Alvaro's*, the King sent him the following *Warrant* :

### The KING.

*Don Alvaro D'Eftuniga my Alquazil-Major or High-Sheriff, I Command you to Arrest the Body of Don Alvaro de Luna Master of Santiago, and to Kill him in case he makes any Resistance.*

*Don Alvaro*, overjoy'd at this *Warrant* told the King by *Letter*, That his Commands should be executed the next Morning by Break-of-Day ; and accordingly he came out of the Castle before it was Light with Twenty Men in Arms on Horse-back, and with Two hundred Men with Helmets on Foot. As soon as *Alvaro de Cartagena* saw them, he ran to his Father's House where the Constable liv'd, and rushing into the Constable's Chamber awak'd him, and told him what he had seen. The Constable said, he believ'd they were coming to Arrest his Father, and bid him speak to him to Arm himself, and he would come presently to his Assistance.

Before *Don Alvaro* was got half way to the Constable's House, he was met by the *Cofferer* with



with an Order from the King, not to Assault it, but only to Invest it. *Don Alvaro* was out of all patience with these Orders, concluding from them that the King had still a mind to save the Constable ; tho' the true reason of this last Order was, that the King had a mind to secure to himself the Constable's Money, Plate, and Jewels, which could not be done if *Don Alvaro's* Men were suffer'd to break into the House. Nevertheless, *Don Alvaro* obey'd this Order, and when he came before the Constable's Gate, his Men cry'd out, *Castile ! Castile ! The King's Liberty !*

The Constable hearing the Shout, went to the Window, and a Bullet from the Street flapt against the Corner of it, and miss'd him narrowly. That Bullet was answer'd presently with four out of the same Window : The first shot a Gentleman dead that stood between *Don Alvaro* and *Valera* ; the second went through a Gentleman's Hand, tho' it had a Gantlet on ; the third pass'd through *Don Inigo D'Esfumiga's* Left-hand, and went two Inches into his Body ; the fourth glanc'd on *Valera's* Armour. *Don Alvaro* being pierc'd to the Heart to see himself expos'd and his Friends thus maul'd, sent *Valera* to the King to acquaint him that he could no longer endure to see brave Men stand to be *Birded* down out of Windows, and therefore was resolv'd to assault the House. The King would not give way to this Attack, but commanded *Don Alvaro* to shelter himself and  
his

his Men in the Houses that were there-about, and not to shoot any more at the House where the Constable was. This Order was obey'd, tho' with great reluctance. During this Cessation, a Fryar who was Confessor to the Constable went several times between the King and him ; but meeting with no success, the Attorney-General was sent by the King to Arrest the Constable. He found the Constable on Horse-back, and all his Servants about him, ready to Sally out and to fight his Way through *Burgos*. The Attorney commanded him in the King's Name to yield himself a Prisoner, and told him withal, that as things were at present, it was the best course he could take. The Constable answer'd, He wou'd never do it, but wou'd die fighting with his Sword in his Hand, unless the King would give him a *Security* under his Hand and Seal for his Life and Estate. This Answer of the Constable's was carry'd by the Attorney to the King; and such a *Security* was sent him written with the King's own Hand, and was carry'd to him by the Bishop of *Burgos*, and *Ruy Dias de Mendoca* the King's *Major-Domo-Major*. After the Constable had read it, he alighted and surrender'd himself a Prisoner to *Mendoca*, to the great Mortification of *Don Alvaro*, who expected to have had that Honour.

The King order'd his Dinner to be made ready at the Constable's House in which he  
was

was kept a Prisoner, but for what reason no one can tell, unless it were to secure to himself the Constable's Treasure at *Burgos*. As the Constable stood at the Window he saw the King, and the Bishop of *Abula* talking with him : At the sight of the Bishop he made the Sign of the Cross upon his Forehead, and cry'd out in a Passion, *By this Cross, Don Bishop, you shall pay for this.* The Bishop look'd up and answer'd, *By God and by my Holy Orders, I knew no more of this Design than the King of Granada.* The Constable thought that the King was come to Dine at his House on purpose to speak with him, and expected every Minute to be sent for ; but at last perceiving that no Message came, he sent to the King to desire he might wait on him. The King bid the Messenger tell the Constable, That he could not speak with him ; and that he had not forgot the Advice which he had so often given him, which was, *Never to see one that was Arrested by his Order.*

After Dinner the King call'd for all the Constable's Keys, notwithstanding the *Security* which he had given the Constable but a few Hours before, and went himself to see every Trunk and Chest in the House open'd. He seiz'd on all the Jewels, Plate, and Money that he found in them. This whetted his Appetite so much after the rest, that it is not improbable that the Constable's refusal to disgorge it all to him, was the chief cause of his



his Death : For after the King had got into his hands all that the Constable had at *Burgos*, he sent to him to let him know, that if he would write to his Son, and to all the other Governors of his Castles, to surrender them and all that was in them to him quietly, he should find *Mercy*. The Constable bid the Messenger tell the King, That His Highness might do what he would, but for his part he would die rather than do what he desir'd. The King being inform'd that the Constable had one Treasure in *Portillo*, and another in *Ermedilla*, and a third in *Maqueda*, and that the biggest of all was in *Escalona* where the Constable's Wife and Son were, he flew after all those Treasures with an Eagerness that little became a Sovereign. At *Portillo* he found Twenty seven thousand *Doubloons* in Money ; in *Ermedilla* Nine thousand : When he came to *Maqueda* where *Rabadaneira* was Governor, he shar'd it with *Rabadaneira*, that he might have his Part of it the more readily deliver'd, being in great haste to get to *Escalona* where the chief Prey was. When he came to *Escalona* a Town the Constable had made impregnable, and in which he always kept a Garison of resolute Men, he found the Gates shut against him. Upon which he sent a Summons to the Constable's Lady and Son to cause them to be open'd. The Lady's Answer was, " That she could " not do it ; and that His Highness's *Hawking* " after her Husband's Estate as he did, was " contrary



“ contrary both to the *Security* which he  
 “ had given him before he would surrender  
 “ himself, and to the *Laws of the Land*, her  
 “ Husband being *Convicted* of no Crime for  
 “ which he had deserv’d to forfeit his *Estate*.”  
 The Constable’s Son likewise return’d an  
 Answer to his God-father’s Summons, “ That  
 “ he would deliver up *Escalona* to the King  
 “ of *Granada*, or the Devil, rather than to  
 “ Him ; and that if he ever had it, he should  
 “ have it and all that was in it in Ashes.”

The King loving to sleep in a whole Skin,  
 and perceiving that there was no coming at  
 that Treasure without Blows, withdrew from  
 before that Place ; and to be reveng’d on the  
 Father for the Affront the Son had put upon  
 him, commanded his new-model’d Council  
 of State ( which consisted of the Constable’s  
 worst Enemies ) to advise with some Lawyers  
 about the Course that was to be taken with  
 the Constable. After they had consulted to-  
 gether, they all agreed that the Constable  
 must be put to Death, and sent their Opi-  
 nion to the King in Writing, as follows :

S I R, “ The Deeds and Facts which have  
 “ been committed by *Don Alvaro de Luna*  
 “ Master of *Santiago*, to your Disservice and  
 “ the Publick Detriment of your Kingdoms,  
 “ have been seen and examin’d by us the  
 “ Nobles and Lawyers of your Council who  
 “ were present, and with whom we doubt  
 “ not but All that are absent will agree :  
 “ We

“ We do find, that the said *Master* has  
 “ usurp’d the Royal Crown, and tyranniz’d  
 “ over the Subjects, and that according to  
 “ Law he ought to be Beheaded, and to  
 “ have his Head put upon an Iron Spike on  
 “ the Scaffold for an Example to the *Grandeess*  
 “ of your Kingdoms.

The King being well pleas’d with this Advice, turn’d it into a *Sentence*, and sign’d a *Warrant* to have it executed at *Valedolid*: He immediately sent the *Warrant* to *Don Diego D’Estuniga*, commanding him, upon the receipt of it, to remove the *Master* from *Portillo*, where he had been a Prisoner for some Days, and to carry him to *Valedolid*, there to execute the Sentence upon him.

Tho’ this *Sentence* was contrary both to the *Security* that the King had given him under his *Hand* and *Seal*, and to the *Laws* of the *Land*, by which he ought to have had a Publick Tryal, yet it was no more than the Constable deserv’d; because, during the whole time of his long Ministry, he trampil’d upon all the *Securities* which the Laws gave the Subjects for their *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Estates*. Thus the *Arbitrary Principles and Proceedings of Favourites* do either come home to themselves whenever they fall under *Disgrace*, or else fall upon their *Posterity* after them.

Tho’ the Constable did not like his removal from Place to Place, yet he entertain’d

no fuspicion of the King's Intention to take away his Life till he came near *Valedolid*, where he was met by two devout Friars, one of which was *Alonzo d'Espinar* the Author of the Book intituled *Fortilitium Fidei*. As foon as he faw them, he guefs'd what their Bufinefs was, but did not appear to be in the leaft diforder'd, tho' he was fure he had guefs'd right, by their exhorting him to prepare to Die as a true *Chriftian*. The two Friars fpent the whole Night with him, and in the Morning very early he heard Mafs, and receiv'd the Sacrament, and afterwards call'd for fomewhat to drink. They brought him fome Sweet-meats, and a Cup of Wine. He drank off the Wine, and eat a little of the Sweat-meats. When he was told that *Don Diego D'Estuniga* waited for him at the Door, he walk'd out and mounted the Mule which was brought to carry him to the Place of Execution. The Publick *Cryers* of the City went before him all the way, making the following Proclamation :

- “ This is the Juftice which our Lord the  
 “ King commands to be done to this  
 “ *Cruel Tyrant*, who with infufferable  
 “ Pride and Haughtinefs, with a foolifh  
 “ Impudence, and with great Injury  
 “ to Royal Majefty which is in the  
 “ Place of God on Earth, made himfelf  
 “ Master of the *Houfhold*, *Court* and  
 “ *Palace* of our Lord the King, ufurp'd  
 “ that

“ that Place which did not belong to  
 “ him, hath done and committed many  
 “ and divers *Crimes, Excesses, Faults,*  
 “ *Mischiefs* and *Tyrannies*, and hath ta-  
 “ ken Bribes to the Disservice of our  
 “ Lord God, and of our said Lord the  
 “ King, to the Diminution and Dispa-  
 “ ragement of his *Person, Dignity* and  
 “ *Estate*, to the great Damage and Dis-  
 “ service of his *Crown* and *Patrimony*,  
 “ and to the Decrease and Perturbation  
 “ of *Justice* and *Judgment*. For the  
 “ the Punishment of all which Crimes,  
 “ He commands him to be Beheaded,  
 “ that the *Justice* of God and the King  
 “ may be executed upon him, and that  
 “ he may be an Example to deter others  
 “ from daring to do or commit the like  
 “ things for the future.

When the Constable was led in this man-  
 ner to the Place of Execution, which was the  
 great *Placa* of the City, two Fryars attended  
 him all the way, exhorting him to *Die in the*  
*Lord*. After he mounted the Scaffold, he  
 kneeled down and worshipp'd the *Crucifix* that  
 was upon it ; and when he rose off his Knees,  
 he walk'd two turns looking earnestly about  
 him. He then call'd his *Page*, and gave him  
 his *Signet-Ring* and *Umbrella*, and bid him  
 keep them, for they were the last Gift he  
 would ever have from him. The *Page* wept  
 aloud when he receiv'd them, and was  
 answer'd



answer'd with loud Lamentations from all the Windows which were crouded with Spectators; few being so hard-hearted as not to commiserate fallen Grandeur, how much and how justly soever they hated it whilst it stood. Upon that the Friars desir'd him not to think of his former worldly Greatness, but to compose himself to Die like a true Christian. He told them, *They might be satisfy'd that his Faith was like the Faith of a Martyr.* Having spy'd Barrosa who belong'd to the Prince's Stables, he call'd him to him, and said, Barrosa! *You are come here to see me Die: I charge you to speak to your Lord the Prince to give better Rewards to his Servants, than the King my Master has order'd to be given me for my Services.* When he saw the Executioner with a Cord in his Hand, he ask'd him, *What he was to do with that?* To tie your Hands, said the Executioner. *That you shall not do,* said the Constable; and then taking off his Silk-Sash, he bad the Executioner tie his Hands with it; and charg'd him to see that his Knife was sharp, that it might dispatch him quickly. He ask'd the Executioner, *What that Spike of Iron on the top of a Pole was for?* The Executioner answer'd, *Your Head is to be stuck upon it.* Is it so? said the Constable; *After they have cut it off, let them do with it what they will.* He then unbutton'd the Collar of his Waste-coat, and turn'd back his Coat himself, and without the least Disorder or sign of Fear laid his Head down

A a

upon

upon the Block. When his Head was off, it was put upon the Spike, where it remain'd nine Days, as his Body did three Days upon the Scaffold, with a Bafon standing by it to receive the Alms of charitable People to bury him. Tho' a great deal of Money was thrown into the Bafon, his Body nevertheless was Interr'd in the Common Burial-place of Publick Malefactors ; but it lay not long there, being taken up a few Days after and Deposited in the Church of the *Franciscans* in *Valedolid*. Some Years after it was taken thence and carry'd to *Toledo*, and laid in the sumptuous Chapel which he had built in that Church when his Brother was Arch-Bishop of it.

Thus fell *Don Alvaro de Luna*, the greatest and most lasting *Favourite* that we read of in History. He was Executed on the 4th of *June*, in the Year of our Lord 1453, in the 65th Year of his Age. His tragical End ought to be a Warning to all *Favourites* to be moderate in the Exercise of their Power, and to set some Bounds to their Appetites after Wealth and Honours ; but above all, never to seek to raise a Power above the Laws to destroy any of the Securities which they give to People for their *Lives, Liberties* and *Estates*. For as such Attempts cannot but render them Odious to the Subjects, and make their Masters more Capricious and Untractable ; so they themselves do thereby become liable to be sacrific'd

fic'd, whenever their Masters are out of Humour with them, or are by the necessity of their Affairs oblig'd to do something that is Popular. A *lawless* and *uncontroulable* Power in a single Person, not accompany'd with an unerring Wisdom, and a perfect Rectitude of Nature (as it is in GOD) being the most *mischievous Engine* that ever was invented, and which *alone* has done and does still more hurt to Mankind than all the other Plagues to which they are subject; so that what is said of Pride, may well be apply'd to Unlimited Power, *It was not made for Man.*

The *Constable* left behind him one Legitimate Son, and one Legitimate Daughter. The Son, out of all his Father's vast Estate, had only the Town of *Saint Estevan* of which he was *Conde*, besides what he might have from his Mother, who brought the King to agree that she should have Half of her Husband's great Treasure which was lodg'd in *Escalona* before she surrender'd it. This Son, whose Name was *Don John de Luna*, had but one Daughter, who was marry'd to the Eldest Son of the *Marquis de Villena*, the next King's *Favourite*: So soon was the Family extinct which the *Constable* had been at so much pains to raise and establish in *Castile*. His Daughter *Donna Maria de Luna* was marry'd to the Duke of *Infantada*. He had likewise a Natural Son nam'd *Don Peter de Luna* who was Lord of *Fuente Deuna*, and a Na-



tural Daughter marry'd to *Don John de Luna* Governor of *Soria*.

The King's *Hatred* to *Don Alvaro de Luna* and his Memory seem'd now to be equal to his former *Love* for him; and appearing no way satisfy'd with his *Life* and *Treasure*, he publish'd a long Writing a few Days after his Death, in which all the Crimes and all the Male-administrations which his greatest Enemies had ever charg'd him with, were extended and exaggerated. In this the King seems not to have much consulted his own Honour, considering how the Constable had been supported by him for many Years at the expence of much Blood and Treasure, after he had been publicly charg'd with all those Crimes and Misdemeanors by the Princes of the House of *Aragon* and the Nobles of *Castile*. But that which made the Publication of such a *Paper* the more wonderful, was, that the King was at that time as much govern'd by the Bishop of *Cuença*, as he had ever been by the Constable; and that the same Prelate, when he was Bishop of *Abula*, brought back the Constable to Court when he was a third time banish'd for those very Male-administrations. But this *Favourite's* Power, to which he had rais'd himself by a matchless Falshood and Dissimulation, lasted not long; for the King Died about Thirteen Months after the Constable was Beheaded: And the Prince had before-hand provided himself a *Favourite*, by whom he was govern'd as much as his Father was by the Constable. Whilst



Whilst the King was at *Escalona* receiving his Dividend of the Constable's great Treasure, he was seiz'd with a Quartan-Ague, which, after some Weeks Illness, put an end to his Days at *Valedolid*, in the 49th Year of his Age, and in the 47th Year of his Reign. In all this long Reign he did little more than aggrandize *Don Alvaro de Luna*, and wrestle with his Subjects to support him. His Unmaking that *Creature* at last contributed but little to his Honour; for it was pretty visible, that it was not a love for Justice, or for the Publick Good, that prevail'd with the King to put him to Death.

The King left behind him the Prince born to him by his first Queen, and a Son and a Daughter by a second Queen. This younger Son Died before the King his Brother. The Daughter *Isabella* was marry'd by the Male-contented Nobles to *Don Ferdinand* Son to the King of *Navar* by the Admiral of *Castile's* Daughter. This King of *Navar*, who made so great a part of the foregoing History, came to the Crown of *Aragon* by the Death of his eldest Brother without Legitimate Issue. His Son the Prince of *Viana*, and his Daughter *Donna Blanca* the Divorc'd Queen of *Castile*, both whom he had by his first Wife the Queen of *Navar*, were remov'd by Poison (as 'tis said) out of his Son *Ferdinand's* way to the Crown of *Aragon*. The Princess *Joanna* was remov'd by the Nobles out of her Aunt *Isabella's* way to the Crown of *Castile*, under pretence that

she was not begotten by the King. The Nobles hated the Queen, and therefore alledg'd, that the King was Impotent, notwithstanding that the Princess *Joanna* had always been own'd and treated by the King as his Daughter, and had been proclaim'd and sworn to as the Presumptive Heir of the Crown, in a *Cortes*, according to the Custom of *Castile*. By these Ways the Crowns of *Castile* and *Aragon* came to be united to the Posterity of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*; and those who now claim the Crown of *Spain* are descended from those two Princes. Tho' *Spain* was then rais'd to a greater Figure than it had made in many Ages before, yet the Foundation of its remarkable Weakness and Poverty was laid by the aforesaid Princes, by setting up the *Inquisition*, and banishing above a Million of *Jews*, and destroying many Thousands of *Morisco's*, to the Depopulating of their Kingdoms, and the Ruin of Trade. These two National Miseries had the finishing Stroke given them by *Philip III.* when he expell'd the *Morisco's* out of *Spain*. With those People and the *Jews* almost all Arts and Industry were banish'd the Kingdom, for no other End but to maintain about Two or three hundred *Inquisitors* in State, and to gratifie the bloody and exterminating Spirit of *Popery*.



# APPENDIX:

Being the

*Impeachment of the Constable,*

(Which was promis'd in the foregoing *History*.)

‘ **W**E the King of *Navar*, the Infante  
 ‘ *Don Henry*, and the *Admiral*, your  
 ‘ Cousins, and the other Condes and Nobles  
 ‘ assembled in the City of *Abula* for your  
 ‘ Highness’s Service, do give you to under-  
 ‘ stand, that having read your *Letters* which  
 ‘ were delivered to us by your Deputies;  
 ‘ We do supplicate your Highness to con-  
 ‘ sider how much both your own *Royal Pre-*  
 ‘ *eminence* and your *Kingdoms* do suffer, by  
 ‘ your submitting your *whole Power* to the  
 ‘ *Will* of your *Constable*, and to consider like-  
 ‘ wise how contrary your doing so is to the  
 ‘ *Laws* of this Realm, and to all the *Rules* of  
 ‘ Government prescrib’d by the ancient *Sages* :  
 ‘ And we beg leave farther to represent,  
 ‘ That as there are two ways of Governing,  
 ‘ the one *Legal*, *Just* and *Good*, and the  
 ‘ other

‘ other *Tyrannical, Unjust and Wicked*; so all  
 ‘ Princes that Govern their People the first  
 ‘ way, are careful to observe the following  
 ‘ Rules.

1<sup>st</sup>, ‘ They are Believers and Catholick  
 ‘ Christians, and do above all things love  
 ‘ and fear God and keep his Command-  
 ‘ ments, and do cause their Subjects to do  
 ‘ the same.

2<sup>dly</sup>, ‘ All their Laws and Constitutions  
 ‘ are made for the Good of the Publick;  
 ‘ and when made and promulgated, are  
 ‘ inviolably observ’d.

3<sup>dly</sup>, ‘ In all their Actions they do still aim  
 ‘ at the *Welfare* of their People, and the  
 ‘ *Honour* of their Crowns.

4<sup>thly</sup>, ‘ The Publick Revenues are ex-  
 ‘ pended by them in Things that are  
 ‘ honest, and profitable for God’s Ser-  
 ‘ vice and their own, and for the Com-  
 ‘ mon Good of the People.

5<sup>thly</sup>, ‘ They love and maintain the Three  
 ‘ Estates of their Kingdoms, honouring  
 ‘ them all according to their several De-  
 ‘ grees, and seek to be belov’d rather  
 ‘ than fear’d by them; knowing that  
 ‘ Loyalty flows from Love, but not from  
 ‘ Fear and Abhorrence.

‘ 6<sup>thly</sup>,



6thly, ' They do no Injustice to any of  
' their Subjects, but least of all to the  
' Nobles, always remembering that the  
' *King* among the *Bees* has no Sting,  
' and that it was not without reason that  
' Nature disarm'd him.

' And as the Reverse of all this is the  
' Custom of *Tyrants*, so it has been the  
' Practice of your *Constable* ever since he  
' usurp'd the Regal Power. For,

I. ' It is manifest to all both within and  
' without your Kingdoms, that your *Con-*  
' *stable*, ever since he usurp'd your Royal  
' Power, has made it his Business to destroy  
' and root out the *Grandeess* and *Nobles* of  
' your Kingdoms, by sowing Tares of Dissen-  
' tion among them, by Banishing some and  
' seizing on their Estates, and by Imprisoning  
' and Murthering others. Neither has he  
' dealt thus with the *Grandeess* only, but  
' likewise with all the Cities and Towns of  
' your Kingdoms. To gratifie his extreme  
' Pride and an exorbitant Covetousness, he  
' has labour'd to have Absolute Power  
' not only over your Household and all the  
' Officers and Ministers that are in it, but  
' even over all the *Grandeess*; to the great  
' Disparagement of your Royal Crown, and  
' of the Great Men of Ancient Lineages  
' that

that have been and still are in these Kingdoms. Your Highness's Compliance with the full Exercise of these Abominable, Tyrannical and Unlawful Proceedings has been the Cause of great Evils and Inconveniences in your Kingdoms, as we are ready to prove, if call'd upon to do it. Among other Artifices to make himself Absolute Master of your Kingdoms, he has got all the Publick Revenues so entirely into his Hands, that he disposeth of them according to his own Pleasure. All the Officers belonging to the Revenues have been put in by him, and are all at his Command. He has likewise taken all your Royal *Mint-houses* into his Possession, and has coin'd great Quantities of Money much below the Standard which was settled by your Highness in Council: This has been done and wink'd at by the Officers of the *Mint*, who were all plac'd there by him, and intirely depend on him; and to conceal whatever he takes to himself out of the Publick Treasures, he has made his Creatures the chief Officers in those Places.

2. Your Constable, *feigning* great Publick Necessities, has put your Highness on Asking and Borrowing great Sums of Money of your Subjects, which have been and still are collected without just Cause, to the great Grievance and Damage of your  
Sub-

‘ Subjects ; by which means the *Commons* are  
‘ reduc’d to such an Extremity of Poverty,  
‘ that it will not be possible for them to grant  
‘ your Highness any more Supplies upon any  
‘ Occasion.

3. ‘ Your *Constable* has all along and does  
‘ still take to himself vast Sums of Money  
‘ both out of the Crown-Revenues and the  
‘ Taxes, with the utmost Boldness and Im-  
‘ pudence, believing that none will ever  
‘ gain-say it, or call him to an Account for  
‘ it ; and by these means has amass’d prodigious  
‘ Treasures, which are laid up not only  
‘ in this Kingdom, but also at *Venice* and  
‘ *Genoa*. He has also swept together all the  
‘ Gold and Plate he could meet with, to the  
‘ great Damage of your Highness and your  
‘ Natural Subjects. He has farther laid his  
‘ Hands likewise on the Revenue of the  
‘ *Cruzado* of the Town of *Marckena*, and is  
‘ ready (as it is believ’d) to lay them on the  
‘ Rents which belong to the *Prelates* and  
‘ *Clerks* of that Place.

4. ‘ The said *Constable*, in defiance of God  
‘ and your Highness, receives a considerable  
‘ Revenue out of the Publick Gaming-Houses,  
‘ Licens’d by him in the City of *Corduba*,  
‘ and other Parts, notwithstanding that Play  
‘ at *Dice* is prohibited by the Laws of Holy  
‘ Church, the Laws of this Realm, and your  
‘ Highness’s late Proclamation.

5. ‘ Your

5. ‘ Your *Constable* having usurp’d the Arch-  
 ‘ Bishopricks, Bishopricks, and other Ecclesia-  
 ‘ stical Dignities in your Kingdoms, has voided  
 ‘ many Elections that have been *Canonically*  
 ‘ made, and when *Fit* and *Worthy* Persons  
 ‘ have been chosen, has forc’d the Electors  
 ‘ to chuse his Brother and others of his  
 ‘ Nomination; by which means the Eccle-  
 ‘ siastical Dignities have been given to Per-  
 ‘ sons that little deserv’d them, and taken  
 ‘ from those who were every-way worthy.  
 ‘ This he has done, not only to augment his  
 ‘ State, but to have a Share in all their  
 ‘ Rents, as is too notorious to be deny’d:  
 ‘ And we can’t but say, that the suffering  
 ‘ this to be done, must be a great Load on  
 ‘ your Highness’s Conscience.

6. ‘ He has likewise, by Force or by Bribes,  
 ‘ prevail’d with several Monks to part with  
 ‘ their Lands to him in exchange for Pensions  
 ‘ to be paid to the Convents by the Crown;  
 ‘ which Practice has a double Evil in it; 1<sup>st</sup>,  
 ‘ The using of Force; and 2<sup>dly</sup>, The Lessening  
 ‘ the Crown-Revenues, by charging them  
 ‘ with Pensions that can never return to the  
 ‘ Crown. By this Method he got into his  
 ‘ Possession the Town of *Saint Martin de*  
 ‘ *Valde*, and the Churches and Villages be-  
 ‘ longing to the Abbey of *Pelayos*. He has  
 ‘ likewise laid new *Taxes* and *Impositions* on  
 ‘ some



‘ some Cities; and particularly on the City  
‘ of *Sevil* he has laid a *Tax* call’d the *Cor-*  
‘ *tago* which is One third of the *Alcavala*,  
‘ to the wronging and robbing both the  
‘ Natives and Strangers.

7. ‘ He has had so great Power with  
‘ your Highness, that no Person could have  
‘ any *Office* or *Favour* by any other way but by  
‘ him; for which reason, all *Services* and  
‘ *Thanks* are still return’d to him, without  
‘ taking any notice of your Highness. It  
‘ has often happen’d, that *Letters* both of  
‘ *Justice* and of *Grace* have been Torn, for  
‘ no other reason but because he was not  
‘ first *supplicated*. It is likewise manifest  
‘ and notorious that he has many *Blanks* with  
‘ your Highness’s Name in them, to dispose  
‘ of all *Offices* as they become vacant,  
‘ and accordingly disposes of ’em as *Occasion*  
‘ offers. All which, Most Powerful *Prince*,  
‘ is a great Injury to those who are con-  
‘ tinually serving your Highness, a great  
‘ Disparagement to your Royal Crown, and  
‘ an exceeding Wrong to all your good  
‘ Subjects; for by virtue of such *Blanks*, he  
‘ puts his own *Creatures* into all Cities and  
‘ Towns; so that in all of them he has  
‘ those that will *do* whatsoever he *com-*  
‘ *mands*, and will *justifie* whatsoever he  
‘ *does*.

8. ‘ It

8. ‘ It is notorious to your Highness, that  
 ‘ none of your Officers of Council and Court,  
 ‘ nor any of your Lawyers who belong to  
 ‘ your Council, nor your Attorney-General,  
 ‘ dare do any thing but what your *Con-*  
 ‘ *stable* orders, and that for the most part  
 ‘ they go to him to know his Mind before  
 ‘ they go to the Council: If any of them do  
 ‘ otherwise than he would have them, they  
 ‘ are immediately discharg’d your Court:  
 ‘ So that what is done in your Council  
 ‘ (tho’ it seems to be the Work of all that  
 ‘ are present) cannot in truth, with Reve-  
 ‘ rence to your Majesty, be said to be so,  
 ‘ seeing all that are there do speak with the  
 ‘ *Constable’s Mouth*, and say never a word but  
 ‘ as he would have them. There are indeed  
 ‘ a great many Persons in your Council, but  
 ‘ we may truly say that it consists of *One*  
 ‘ only: Which is a Practice condemn’d by  
 ‘ all wise Men, who will have King’s and  
 ‘ Princes Councils made up of a great many  
 ‘ enjoying an entire *Liberty* to do deliver their  
 ‘ own Opinions.

9. ‘ To make himself still more *Power-*  
 ‘ *ful*, he bestows all the *Alcaldiships*, as they  
 ‘ fall, upon his own Creatures, giving some  
 ‘ of them to Strangers, contrary to the Laws  
 ‘ and Customs of *Castile*, and to the great  
 ‘ Dishonour of its Natives. And seeing it is  
 ‘ known

‘ known to all how *Powerful* he is to do  
 ‘ either Good or Hurt as he pleaseth ; many,  
 ‘ as well *Condes* as *Gentlemen*, submit them-  
 ‘ selves to him and serve him, not only to  
 ‘ receive *Favours* from his Hands, but to be  
 ‘ secur’d from *Losses* and *Injuries* ; by which  
 ‘ means the *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Love* which  
 ‘ are due to your Majesty, are plac’d on  
 ‘ your Constable, who is *respected*, *serv’d*,  
 ‘ and *honour’d* ; for as from him all *Favours*  
 ‘ and *Offices* are expected, so to him all  
 ‘ *Thanks* are return’d.

10. ‘ The *Constable*, knowing himself to be  
 ‘ a *Foreigner*, and fearing he must tumble, if  
 ‘ your Natural Subjects were so much in your  
 ‘ Favour as to have your Royal Ear open to  
 ‘ their Councils, has with all his Force en-  
 ‘ gag’d the *Grandees* in *Feuds* and *Dissen-*  
 ‘ *sions* one with another, and has not suf-  
 ‘ fer’d any of them to have any share of  
 ‘ your Highness’s Favour. As from this  
 ‘ great Inconveniences have follow’d, so much  
 ‘ greater may be fear’d, if your Highness  
 ‘ does not prevent them by doing *Justice*,  
 ‘ and by complying with the *Obligations* of  
 ‘ your Royal Office.

11. ‘ Your *Constable* has caus’d many Per-  
 ‘ sons to be unjustly put to Death. It is no-  
 ‘ torious that the Duke *Don Fadrique* your  
 ‘ near Kinsman, a Person of great State and  
 ‘ Grandeur, who did much honour your Royal  
 ‘ Pre

‘ Pre-eminence, was Murther’d by his Or-  
‘ der ; as was also the *Conde de Luna*, whom  
‘ he caus’d to be Poison’d in Prison, to whom  
‘ he made himself Heir, in defiance of the  
‘ *Fear* of God, the *Honour* of your High-  
‘ ness, and the *Shame* of the World. He  
‘ likewise occasion’d the Death of *Fernan A-*  
‘ *lonso de Robres*, for no other reason, but  
‘ for being one of the four Judges who pass’d  
‘ a just Sentence upon him. He also caus’d  
‘ *Sancho Hernandes* an Officer of the Trea-  
‘ sury to be Beheaded at *Burgos*, for refusing  
‘ to enter upon your Books the *Grant* he had  
‘ obtain’d of the Salt Ponds of *Atiença*. Many  
‘ others in these Kingdoms, tho’ not of so  
‘ great Note, have been Murther’d by his  
‘ Comman’d ; others have been Banish’d ;  
‘ and others have been thrown into Prisons  
‘ in order to be put to Death : This was the  
‘ intended Fate both of the *Adelantado* and  
‘ his Brother the *Admiral* when they were  
‘ Imprison’d by him, but they fortunately  
‘ escap’d it. And it is known, that it has  
‘ been his constant Practice to bring all that  
‘ contradict any of his wicked and unjust Deeds  
‘ immediately under your Highness’s Displea-  
‘ sure, and that he has always labour’d to set  
‘ you against your Natural Subjects, and to  
‘ alienate you from them, by bringing *For-*  
‘ *reigners* into their Places both in your  
‘ Household and in your Guards, to the great  
‘ Disgrace and Wrong of the Natives.



12. ‘ Those whom he could neither Im-  
 ‘ prison nor put to Death he has labour’d to  
 ‘ make his Friends, by promising to assist  
 ‘ them with your Highness, and by procu-  
 ‘ ring them great *Grants* and *Honours* ; and  
 ‘ that he might be sure of them, he has oblig’d  
 ‘ them to make *Vows* and take *Oaths* to him ;  
 ‘ a thing which was never heard of before in  
 ‘ these Kingdoms. After he had perswaded  
 ‘ your Highness that this was for your Ser-  
 ‘ vice, several have been commanded by you  
 ‘ to make such Promises, and rewarded by you  
 ‘ for having done it ; not considering how  
 ‘ great an Injury is done to those that are thus  
 ‘ forc’d to enter into such Engagements.

‘ And now, Most Excellent *Prince*, all that  
 ‘ see how your Highness gives way to such  
 ‘ *hainous, intolerable, enormous, and detestable*  
 ‘ things, do ( knowing the excellency of your  
 ‘ Vertue and Discretion ) conclude, that the  
 ‘ *Constable* has by some *Magical* and *Diabolical*  
 ‘ Incantations, so bound and ty’d up all your  
 ‘ Powers *Corporeal* and *Intellectual*, that you  
 ‘ are not able to do any thing but what he  
 ‘ would have you do. They imagine that  
 ‘ your *Memory* can’t *remember*, that your *Un-*  
 ‘ *derstanding* can’t *understand*, that your *Will*  
 ‘ can’t *love*, nor your *Mouth* *speak* any thing,  
 ‘ but what he would have them. And to say  
 ‘ the truth, there never was nor ever could  
 ‘ be a Monk of the strictest Order so submis-  
 ‘ sive to his Superior, as your Royal Person  
 B b ‘ has

' has been and still is to the *Will* of your *Con-*  
 ' *stable*. For tho' there have been in the  
 ' World many *Privado's* or *Favourites* of Kings  
 ' and great Princes, yet we no-where read of  
 ' any who dar'd to do things with so much  
 ' *Contempt*, *Disdain*, and *Disrespect* to their  
 ' Masters, and with so little *Reverence* to their  
 ' Persons, as your *Constable* hath presum'd to  
 ' do both in his *Words* and *Deeds*. Your  
 ' Highness cannot but remember how he kill'd  
 ' a Gentleman in your Presence at *Arevela*,  
 ' and that he lately gave twenty Blows to a  
 ' Boy as he hung about your Highness. Now  
 ' *what King or Lord, who enjoy'd his Liberty,*  
 ' *would endure such things from a Subject!*

' We do therefore, Most Powerful Lord,  
 ' supplicate your Royal Majesty, with the  
 ' Reverence and Loyal Intentions of  
 ' Faithful Subjects and Vassals, that you  
 ' would be pleas'd to give Order for the  
 ' *Restitution* of your own Liberty and  
 ' Royal Power, which has been so long  
 ' *Usurp'd* by your *Constable*.

A R E-



A  
R E F L E X I O N  
O N

*Don Alvaro de Luna and his  
Ministry, made by Friar John de  
Santa Maria, in the 20th Chapter  
of his Book de Republica y Poli-  
cia Christiana.*

*G*reat were the Troubles which Don John II. of Castile underwent, by allowing this Favourite so great a Power in all Publick Affairs. When the People saw their King in a perfect Subjection and Thraldom to him, they concluded that he was certainly Bewitch'd by him. The King's Will and Understanding were resigned to him so entirely, that he neither understood what he gave him, nor durst deny him any thing that he desir'd. And as the ungrateful Ivy sucks the Sap from the Tree that supports it; so this Favourite

Bb 2      robb'd

robb'd the King of his Revenue and Authority, and of little less than his whole Kingdom. By which means the Royal Authority was sunk so low, that the Grantees and the King's own First Cousins the Infantes, and the Kings of Aragon and Navar, took up Arms and made War upon him ; and on some Occasion he was deserted even by the Prince his Son, and his own Wife. From hence arose great Civil Broils, and all under the Title of setting the King at Liberty, and rescuing him out of the Bondage he was in ; and no other reason was assign'd for making War, but only this, That the whole Kingdom saw that the Favourite did all, and the King did nothing. It cannot be deny'd that this Favourite did many things which merited the King's Affection : For on many great Occasions he had serv'd the King valiantly with the hazard of his Life and Person. But as his Interest in the King encreas'd, his Ambition and Covetousness grew up with it, and rose to that height, that they render'd him Odious to the whole Kingdom, and even to the King himself at last. The King turn'd against him, as he pretended, upon account of the great Damages which he sustain'd in his Kingdoms, and in his own Credit and Authority, by the great Power which that Favourite had usurp'd. Many things had been formerly urg'd to the King on that head, but without effect : That which really prevail'd with him was his Interest.

A soon



*Assoon as he was told of the prodigious Treasure which that Favourite had amass'd together, and that it would all come into his hands, he was highly pleas'd with the Discourse, and immediately put an end to his Favouritism, by making War upon the Constable with that Treasure, which he rely'd on as the best Guard to defend, and the surest Stay to support himself.*





To the Right Honourable  
**H E N R Y**  
 Lord Bishop of *L O N D O N*,  
 H U M B L Y P R E S E N T.

*L I S B O N*,  $\frac{7}{17}$ . *Septemb.* 1686.

*May it Please your LORDSHIP,*

‘ **I**N all Humility and Gratitude we ac-  
 ‘ knowledge your Lordship’s greate Cha-  
 ‘ rity to this Factory, and all the King’s  
 ‘ Subjects residing in this Kingdome, where  
 ‘ God hath hitherto bless’d us with the Li-  
 ‘ berty and Freedome of the Exercise of the  
 ‘ Religion into which we were initiated;  
 ‘ which Happinesse, through the Envy of  
 ‘ some Men, the *Inquisition* endeavours now  
 ‘ to deprive us of: About four or five Dayes  
 ‘ since, the Consul and Mr. *Giddes* were  
 ‘ Summon’d to appeare att the Council Boord  
 ‘ in the *Inquisition*, where they were forbid  
 ‘ the Publicke Practice, and Meeting at Divine  
 ‘ Service, and Preaching, which your Lord-  
 ‘ ship will know more fully from them, by  
 ‘ their peticular Letters.

‘ **M Y**

*A Letter to the Bishop of London.* 375

‘ MY LORD, There was Provision  
‘ made by the 14th Article of the Treaty of  
‘ Commerce, celebrated, and concluded be-  
‘ tweene the two Crownes of *England* and  
‘ *Portugall*, that the King’s Subjects should  
‘ not bee molested for Conscience-sake, but  
‘ that they might freely exercise their Re-  
‘ ligion, with their Familyes of the same  
‘ Nation and Religion, without any Im-  
‘ pediment or Molestation; and that it was  
‘ alwayes soe understood by the King, will  
‘ appeare by His Majesties Grant of 100 l.  
‘ a Yeare to be paid by the Consul to the  
‘ Minister that resides there, and the same  
‘ Liberty is granted to the Subjects of the  
‘ States of *Holland*, which can bee noe  
‘ small Griefe to us, to see our Religion  
‘ and our Nation soe much slighted by  
‘ the *Inquisition*, in being denyed what they  
‘ enjoy; a Priviledge that we have been  
‘ possesse of ever since the King’s happy  
‘ Restauration; and we hope through  
‘ God’s Blessing, and your Lordship’s Cha-  
‘ rity, in bringing the state of this Mat-  
‘ ter to the King’s Cognizance, wee shal  
‘ continue soe great a Blessing, to all our  
‘ Comforts: And wee beseech your Lord-  
‘ ship to remember the Factory of *O Porto*,  
‘ as well as this, noe way doubting, that  
‘ when his Majestie is informed of the  
‘ true state of our Agrievances, he will  
‘ protect us in our just Rights; and that  
‘ Bb 4. mds 3. God

376 *A Letter to the Bishop of London.*

‘ God will blesse your Lordship with long  
‘ Life and Happinesse, shal ever bee the  
‘ Prayers of,

*May it Please your LORDSHIP,*

Your Lordship’s most Obedient,

Obleidged Servants,

<i>Tho. Maynard,</i>	<i>P. Bultee,</i>
<i>Francis Carter,</i>	<i>Peter Nepuell,</i>
<i>Anthony Jordan,</i>	<i>Willoughby Swift,</i>
<i>John Clarke,</i>	<i>John Hickes,</i>
<i>John le Duke,</i>	<i>Joseph Gulston,</i>
<i>William Langford,</i>	<i>Joseph Persivall,</i>
<i>Robert Northleigh,</i>	<i>William Brooke,</i>
<i>Henry Jacob,</i>	<i>John Person,</i>
<i>John Earle,</i>	<i>Robert Gislingham.</i>

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*The same LETTER was sent with  
the following POSTSCRIPT, and Sign’d  
by every Member of the Factory.*

*May it Please your LORDSHIP,*

‘ **T**HIS is a Duplicate of a Letter wee  
‘ troubled your Lordship with, by the  
‘ last Post; but then halfe the Factory at least  
‘ being absent, about their necessary Occa-  
‘ sions,



‘ fions, wee have made bold to give your  
 ‘ Lordship another to read, Signed by every  
 ‘ Member thereof,

Your Lordship’s most Obleiged  
 and most Obedient Servants,

<i>Tho. Maynard,</i>	<i>Joseph Gulston,</i>
<i>John Earle,</i>	<i>Tho. March,</i>
<i>Wm. Langford,</i>	<i>Francis Carter,</i>
<i>Thomas Hunt,</i>	<i>John le Duke,</i>
<i>Henry Jacob,</i>	<i>Robert Stuckey,</i>
<i>Robert Northleigh,</i>	<i>Pr. Bultee,</i>
<i>Joseph Hardwick,</i>	<i>Peter Nepuell,</i>
<i>William Bathurst,</i>	<i>John Arlibeare,</i>
<i>Will. Birde,</i>	<i>Rober. Giflingham,</i>
<i>Ri. Buller,</i>	<i>Wm. Brooke,</i>
<i>Humph. Benning,</i>	<i>John Person,</i>
<i>James Bennett,</i>	<i>John Clarke,</i>
<i>Joseph Whetham,</i>	<i>Josiah Bateman,</i>
<i>Daniel Denny,</i>	<i>John Wiggott,</i>
<i>Rich. Willford,</i>	<i>Joseph Perswall,</i>
<i>Willoughby Swift,</i>	<i>Richard Buller, Jun.</i>
<i>John Hickes,</i>	





TO THE  
 Right Reverend Father in GOD,  
**HENRY**  
 Lord Bishop of **LONDON**,  
 PRESENT.

*LISBON*, the  $\frac{7}{17}$  *Sept.* 1686.

*My LORD!*

‘ **I** F a good Cause, and Prescription had  
 ‘ been enough to have preserv’d us in  
 ‘ our Rights, there had been noe occasion  
 ‘ to have troubled your Lordship with soe  
 ‘ unpleasing a Subject, as Necessity now forces  
 ‘ me upon; being Silence, and desisting  
 ‘ from endeavouring a Remedy, would  
 ‘ make all the King’s Subjects residing in  
 ‘ *Portugall* hugely unhappy, and to prevent  
 ‘ Prolixity, I will onely give your Lordship  
 ‘ an Account of the Matter of Fact, and  
 ‘ humbly implore your Charity to Assist us,  
 ‘ that our Agreivances may come to the King’s  
 ‘ Cognizance, that wee may obtaine some Re-  
 ‘ leife from his Majestie’s Piety and Justice,  
 ‘ which great Charity I hope God will re-  
 ‘ ward

ward an hundred-fold upon your Lordship.

Upon *Thursday*  $\frac{2}{3}$  of this Month, I had a Summons from the *Inquisition*. to appear att their Councill-Boord, where being sett at the lower end of the Table, one of the Inquisitors said to me, You have taken a House at *Porto de Sancto Antam*, where you have your Meeting Sundays and Holly-dayes, and have your publick Prayers and Preachings; To which I reply'd; 'Twas true that the King of *England's* Subjects did come there to Divine Service; and to heare Sermons, then he asked mee, by what Authority I sufferred them to meet att my House; I told them by vertue of the Treaty of Peace made betweene the two Crownes of *England* and *Portugall*, in which it is exprefsly provided by the 14th Article of that Treaty; To which the Inquisitor said, There can be noe such thing granted to you, I answer'd, That 'tis exprefsly declared in that Article, that all Commerce would bee ineffectual, if the King's Subjects were disquieted for Conscience-sake, therefore the King of *Portugall* would effectually provide and take care, that the King's Subjects should not bee disquieted or molested in their Consciences, by any Man, Court, or Tribunall, but that they might freely in their Houses, with their Families, being of the same Nation and Religion, in any part of the King of *Portugall's* Dominions, professe and ex-

ercise

‘ exercise their Religion, without any Trouble  
‘ or Impediment, To which one of the In-  
‘ quisitors said, It neve came to the Cogni-  
‘ zance of the Inquisition, To which I re-  
‘ plied, That I had been Consul here Thirty  
‘ Yeares, in which tyme the Kings Subjects  
‘ Assembled to heare Divine Service and  
‘ Sermons, and ’twas very improbable, that  
‘ in soe many Yeares, it should not come to  
‘ the Cognizance of the Inquisition ; And I  
‘ farther told them, That many Yeares since,  
‘ when the Arch-Bishop of *Evora* presided in  
‘ that Court, I was questioned as I am now,  
‘ by what Authority wee Assembled, which  
‘ I made out, as I do now, Wee did it by  
‘ Vertue of the Articles of Peace ; since which  
‘ wee were never disturbed in our Meetings,  
‘ To which one of the Inquisitors said, You  
‘ are mistaken in all your Sayings, and you  
‘ shall have noe more Meetings, but att an  
‘ Ambassador, or Envoy’s House, and you must  
‘ now signe this Paper (written by them-  
‘ selves) that wee should not Assemble in  
‘ any other Place, To which I replied, I  
‘ could signe noe Paper, that did contradict  
‘ the Treaty of Peace between the two  
‘ Crownes, unlesse I had a Command from  
‘ my Sovereigne Lord the King to do it, and  
‘ soe I parted from them.

‘ The next Day I went to discourse withe  
‘ the Inquisitor-Generall of what had hapned  
‘ att the Boord ; he being absent from thence  
‘ by some Indisposition, and being admitted

‘ to



‘ to him, I gave him a breife Relation of the  
‘ Discourse wee had at the Boord, To  
‘ which he told mee, I had noe Reason, or  
‘ Justice to persist in that Matter, for wee  
‘ could not expect wee should have Liberty  
‘ to Assemble to our Prayers, but every Man  
‘ might Pray by himselfe, and that was all  
‘ that was intended ; To which I replied,  
‘ That there was noe need of an Article of  
‘ Peace, to Pray privately in our Closetts,  
‘ for noe Man could hinder us from that,  
‘ To which he passionately replied, That if  
‘ he had been att the Boord, neither you,  
‘ nor the other ( meaning the Minister of the  
‘ Factory ) should have gon out of this House,  
‘ I replied, That I was not guilty of any Fact  
‘ that might meritt soe severe a Senfure, as to  
‘ be a perpetuall Prisoner in the Inquisition ;  
‘ soe rising from the Place, where I was set-  
‘ ting, to take my Leave of him, he tooke  
‘ hold of my Arme, and said, Pray sitt downe  
‘ againe, wee will discourse this Busines a  
‘ little more, and he said, I have knowne  
‘ you att least this thirty Yeares, and have  
‘ never understood, that you ever wronged,  
‘ or scandaliz’d any Man, but are generally  
‘ well reputed, and beloved of all Men, but  
‘ this cannot bee granted you, for ’tis too  
‘ great a Scandall to the People, To which  
‘ I said, Our Meeting was very private, and it  
‘ could be noe Scandall to any to serve God,  
‘ and if that were the reason of this Disput,  
‘ wee would for the future endeavour to meet  
‘ with

' with that privacy, that none should bee  
 ' able to take notice of our Assembling, To  
 ' which he said, I should apply my selfe to  
 ' the King his Master, and if he pleased to  
 ' send him an Order to suffer us, wee should  
 ' have Liberty to Assemble together to our  
 ' Prayers; So I intend to speake to the  
 ' King, and deliver him a Memoriall setting  
 ' forth our Complaint.

' Mr. *Geddis* was likewise summoned to  
 ' the Inquisition, who, I am sure, writes  
 ' your Lordshipp of what past betwixt him  
 ' and the Inquisitors. I beseech your Lord-  
 ' shipp to continue me in your Grace and  
 ' Favour, by the Tytle of,

*My LORD,*

*Your Lordship's most Obedient,*

*Faithfull Servant,*

THO. MAYNARD.



*An EXPLANATION of some Terms  
which occur in the Treatise of  
A Solemn Pontifical Mass.*

*Dalmatick*, the Vestment used by Deacons  
at the Altar.

*Corporal*, the Linen Cloth on which the Host  
is laid.

*Manipulum*, what the Priest puts on his Left-  
Arm when he goes to say Mass.

*Acoliti*, they who serve the Priest at the Al-  
tar, of the lowest Ecclesiastical Order.

*Credentia*, the Table on which the Wine and  
Water stand when the Bishop says Mass.

*Paramenta*, the Robes and Ornaments.

*Pectoral*, the Cross which Bishops wear upon  
their Breast.

*Tunicella*, a Vestment worn by Bishops in  
Pontificalibus.

*Gremial*, a rich piece of Silk held by two  
Priests between the Bishop and the People  
when he says Mass.

*Pluvial*, a Cope.

*Sandals*, Slippers.

*Bursa*, a Purse.

*Alba*, the Surplice.

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